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XIII.

NOTES UPON OBELISKS.

ONE of the most remarkable features of the architecture of Egypt was its obelisks. None, probably, have excited greater attention, or are more popularly known. Two capital cities of the old world preserved them as decorations; a third, of modern Europe, preeminently imbued with the love of the fine arts, has added one to her magnificent treasures of ancient remains, and to her noble public buildings. Even here, slow as we are nationally to undertake such enterprizes, the spirit of individuals has removed some examples, although they are not the giants of their race. At all times they have commanded the admiration of their beholders; and, if the motive of their creation was intelligible to the pagan world, the same cannot be said of the middle ages of Christian times. With theology in the ascendant, the history of Egypt disappeared; and it was not till the time of the renaissance that awakened Europe gazed upon the *débris* of ancient art with credulous admiration, and while collecting the shattered remains, sought still to give them a greater charm by interpreting their legends as the philosophical tenets of Egypt, or the dogmas of theology. Nor has this craving yet disappeared, and the many are still disappointed in finding that such gigantic works had a scope apparently so simple as the piety of kings to gods, and to perpetuate to posterity the names of monarchs once renowned.

It is not here proposed to record the errors of past inquirers,

or to treat of obelisks in every point of view, that would require a folio, like the work of Zoega, to complete; but to examine their legends in detail, and to show how far the discovery of the mode of reading the hieroglyphs illustrates their object and the meaning of their inscriptions. They contain no mysteries, but a few curious facts.

In their shape they are generally a four-sided prism, tapering towards the top, which the Greeks called the akrobolis. This is of the shape of a small pyramid, called the *pyramidion*, with one exception, which is rounded. They resemble huge crystals of granite or basalt, placed erect upon their bases, of very symmetrical shape; the general law of proportion being, that the base is one-tenth of the elevation up to the point. All the obelisks are monoliths, and generally of red syenitic granite, although a few were made of basalt and sand-stone. Each of the four faces was decorated with a line of hieroglyphs in cavo-rilievo, sculptured with great care, and painted in the prevalent colour of the period. This portion of the work was executed after the obelisk had left the quarry, as is proved by the plain one still remaining at Syene, and numerous uninscribed ones at Rome. The apex has often a subject, generally the king, under the form of a sphinx, adoring a god; or else the cartouches, or names of the king.

The height of the cap is also one-tenth of the elevation. They were placed upon bases, which also tapered, being broader below than above. In finished examples, this base was inscribed with a legend, in hieroglyphs, recording when and how the monument was erected. Some of the bases were steps. They were placed at the doorway, a little before the lintel, and before the propylæa. The relation of obelisks to the buildings before which they stood, is that of triumphal columns placed before the propylæa or triumphal arches; and they were probably suggestive of the column, as the pyramid had been of the mausoleum, and the propylon of the triumphal arch. In the tomb near the Pyramids of

Gizeh, which was made for a priest of three monarchs of the fifth dynasty, Ra-nefer-ka, Ra-sahu, and User-en-ra, an obelisk is represented in the hieroglyphs, placed on a base.* M. Lepsius† found one of 7 feet high, in one of the sepulchres of Gizeh, inscribed with the name of the tenant of the tomb. In the museum of the Duke of Northumberland, at Alnwick, Dr. Lepsius recently discovered a small obelisk of the time of the twelfth dynasty, covered with dedications to Osiris and Khem, for the Prince Beba, son of a royal concubine Aarru, Amen-em-ha, and one Hannu, chief of the "southern thirtieths". This sepulchral use appears even in the ritual of the dead, executed about the age of the Persians, in which the vignette of the funeral ceremonies shows the priest consecrating two obelisks,‡ with other gifts.

No public obelisks of the old monarchy remain, nor am I aware that there is reason to suppose that they were employed; yet the rich quarries of syenite were worked, and if limestone was not sufficiently compact, other hard materials might have been employed. Notwithstanding the immortal public works then undertaken, the earliest obelisk that has remained is the one of Matarieh, or Heliopolis, of User-tsen I, the only relic of the magnificent temple erected there to the god Horus, or Tum, the setting sun. It is placed upon a block or pedestal now covered by the deposit of the inundation. On all four sides is the same inscription, consisting of the five names and titles of the king, who is styled "beloved of the spirits of Peten",§ to whom, it would seem, the temple was dedicated; while the expression after the king's titles, "the first time of celebrating the festival" (*sep shaa set heb*), seems to show that it was dedicated on the occasion of some jubilee, probably towards the close of the king's reign. That great public works were

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* Burton, *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, pl. xxvii.

† *Briefe*, 8vo., Berlin, 1852, s. 40. ‡ Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, v, 15.

§ Read Pen or Poni. How it was pronounced is not certain.

undertaken at this period, the accounts of which have reached us,* is not only evident from the labyrinth, the pyramids, and the lake Mœris, the fortification of Samneh, and adjustment of the Nile level, but also from the celebrated inscription of Beni-hassan, in which Nehar, son of Numhep-t, states, "I set up tablets in the south, like the heaven I stretched out the great river in its valley"; and that his father had done the same as far as the Mareotis on the north, and Lycopolis on the south. Of this dynasty, the only other obelisk, if it is really one, is that of the Fayoum;† but this monument is so different from all others that it is difficult to believe that it is an obelisk. It is a squared block, tapering to the apex, broader on two sides than upon the others; and on one of these, Usertsen I is represented five times, in compartments, offering to the gods Phtha, Ra, Chnumis. The narrow sides, which are rounded at the top, have each a perpendicular line of hieroglyphs,—the usual prenomen and titles of the king, who is said to be "beloved of the gods Mentu" (Mars) and "Phtha" (Vulcan); but the lower half is wanting, and its use is not easily explained. M. Lepsius has, indeed, given a copy of the base inscription of this object, which is, unfortunately, too much mutilated to throw any light upon the object of the monument. It commences with the name of the king, and continues with the speech of the gods, speaking in the plural, but to what purport is not very clear. One expression only, mentioning "this construction of wood, inlaid with" (gold?), l. 8, seems to show that it was part of an edifice. From this period no obelisks are known till the age of the eighteenth dynasty.

It is to the flourishing period of the eighteenth dynasty that the greater number of obelisks belong; but no examples remain

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* Rosellini, M. R. xxv, 1; Lepsius, *Denkmaeler*, Abth. ii, Bl. 118 h.; Kircher, *Œdipus*, iii, 333; Norden, xxxix, *Descr. de l'Eg.* A. vol. v, pl. 26.

† Burton, *Exc. Hier.*, pl. xxxiii; Rosellini, M. R. xxv, l. a., h.; Lepsius, *Denkmaeler*, Abth. ii, pl. 119, calls it the obelisk of Begig, and places it at Krokodilopolis.

of the two first monarchs of the dynasty, whose active life did not allow of much repose for the embellishments and arts of peace. Four obelisks, however, of their immediate successors decorate the pylons of the temple, or the granite sanctuary, as it is called, of Karnak, which was commenced by the kings of the twelfth, and continued by Thothmes I. He placed before the pylon, which led into the peristyle, two obelisks of syenitic granite, at the side of the door, of nearly the same dimensions, viz. about 70 feet long, and 5 feet 7 inches wide at the base. On the obelisk which remains entire, the central lines of the four sides contain the name and titles of the king, and some slight information relative to the occasion of placing them in their position. It is stated on the west side, that the king, who was "the divine ruler of Peten, had made them as a gift to his father, Amon-Ra, who dwells in Thebes",* with a repetition of the same on the eastern side, with the addition that "he had erected two great obelisks" at the two propylæa, capped with (gold)". Hence it is clear that the propylæa of the temple of Amon-Ra are intended. The occasion appears to have been on the celebration of the great festivals; for it states (north side) that "the lord of the gods assigned to him to celebrate festivals on the (great) Persea" (*asht*), or tree of life; and we have already seen that the obelisks of Usertsen I were set up "the first time of celebrating the festival", probably the *triakonteris*. A consideration of the lateral inscription, I reserve for the present. It is, however, on these obelisks that the position of these monoliths is first mentioned, which continues to be the case throughout their numerous inscriptions. The companion obelisk to this lies broken in several fragments in the same courtyard, and was restored by a subsequent monarch. It appears that Thothmes I projected and commenced a second pair of obelisks, but that either he lost his political power, or did not survive to erect them, as they

* Rosellini, M. R. xxx, l.; Lepsius, *Denk.*, Abth. iii, Bl. 6.

were subsequently set up by his daughter, the queen regent, Hatasu. These, which are the largest in the whole of Egypt, rising to a height of upwards of 90 feet, were placed before the second propylon of the courtyard of the sanctuary, and their inscriptions contain the fullest information on these monuments that the hieroglyphs afford.

It is not here the place to enter upon the discussion of the confusion of the period. The reign of Thothmes I probably closed with political or domestic trouble. Thothmes II, his son and successor, had but a feeble political existence, to judge from his monuments; and his children, Hatasu and Thothmes III, mounted conjointly upon the throne of Egypt. After the twenty-ninth year of their joint reign, which was probably dated from the death of Thothmes I, the sister had died, as well as her daughter,* whom she had in vain assumed into the sovereignty, and Thothmes III became sole ruler, having reigned with her from her nineteenth regnal year at least. Now the great obelisks contain no notice of Thothmes III, and the queen expressly states "that she", alone, "erected them, in the name of her father", so that they fall into this period. One only of these colossal objects remains upright upon its base; the other has been overthrown, and comparatively a small portion only remains, which throws no additional light upon their object.

On the first side of the standing obelisk, it is stated, after the usual names and titles, that the queen "has been crowned by Amon, upon the throne of Horus, in the hall *(taar)* of the great temple, enshrined, as the other great gods, for the mistress of the circle of the disk, provided with the breath of life",† etc. On the other main side it is stated, "her majesty made (it in) the name of her father, setting up this sacred monument, when prayers were offered for the king Thothmes I, to the

* The queen, Ra-neferu, as appears from an inscription copied by Sir G. Wilkinson, at Eilethyia.

† Rosellini, M. R. No. xxxi, *Descr. de l'Egypte*, A. vol. iii, pl. 80.

person of that god, when two obelisks were set up by her majesty for the first time. Said the lord of the gods: 'Thy father, the king Thothmes I, vowed the obelisks. Let thy majesty complete the monument'."*

Down the centre line of the next side, after her name and titles, it states that "she has made it as a memorial to her father Amon Ra, lord of the foundations of the world, setting up to him two great obelisks at the main gate of Amon, the first of created beings, chiselled", or, "inlaid with very much gold, giving light to the world like the solar orb".†

The inscription upon the last side states, that "her father, Amon Ra,‡ has placed her name of the Horus, the sun, the follower of truth, on the great persea", or tree of life—"her titles, for millions of years, providing her with health". After this is a remarkable erasure, which is subsequently followed by the statement, that "she set it up to him, Amon Ra, on the first celebration of the festival". Now, as the regent's rule did not reach thirty years, it is clear that this could not allude to the triakonteris, which she had not completed. And on the Karnak tablet,§ the celebration of this festival is found upon it to have been made by Thothmes III.

The political state is shown by the manner in which this obelisk is decorated at each side of the central inscription, about half way down the base. At a later time, be it observed, when a later monarch repaired the building, or set up an obelisk of his predecessor, already *in situ*, he added a lateral inscription of two lines of hieroglyphs, containing an account of what he had done. In the present case, on the left side of the main line, is sculptured the queen regent, Hatasu, Thothmes

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* Burton, E. H., xlviii; Rosellini, M. R., xxxii; or "gifts".

† Burton, *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, pl. xl-xlviii, gives two sides; Rosellini, M. R., xxxiii.

‡ Rosellini, M. R., No. xxxiv; Lepsius, *Denk.*, Abth., iii, 22.

§ Lepsius, *Auswahl.* taf. xii, 7; Champollion, *Mon.*, tom. iv, ccxiv, xv.

III, Thothmes I, Sethos I, adoring Amon in various forms; Thothmes II is studiously omitted, and upon the pyramidion the queen is crowned by Amon Ra.

Additional information is afforded by the inscription on the base.* The greater portion is of an adulatory nature; of which only a few phrases are of any importance, such (south side) l. 3, 4, that the queen regent "was crowned by Amon himself, on his throne of S. Peten", and, "chosen by him to rule Kami", or "Egypt". On the top the regent is seen kneeling, and crowned by the god, showing that the Theban hierarchy recognised the power of the queen, and that the Karnak quarter was in the district called the S. Peten. In a subsequent part of this side it is said, "to conquer for the pure race; the female Horus, who is the defender of her father, the eldest born of him who is male and female; the issue of the sun, whom he has made to be his glorious manifestation upon earth, for the health of the living, whom he has placed as his living image, the Sun, who follows truth *(Ha-t asu)* the gold of queens. She has made it as a gift to her father, Amon Ra, lord of foundations of the earth, who dwells in Thebes. Two great obelisks of granite have been made to him on the south side, rising with gold, over the heads of all countries, seen from the banks of the river, diffusing their rays over the earth like the solar orb when it is in heaven's horizon"; a notion which connects the obelisks with the solar rays, and is also found on other obelisks, which, perhaps, was subsequently the cause of their gnomical use. On the west side, the queen appears to say, "that she made it (the obelisk) according to the commands of her father; that she has not claimed the work, and that although the constructions were not made by her at the gate of the temple, yet that she did not depart from what he had

* Two sides of which were first given by Mr. Burton, *Exc. Hier.*, pl. L; then the whole by M. Prisse, *Mon. Egypt.*, fo., Paris, 1847, pl. xviii; then by M. Lepsius, *Denkmaeler*, Abth. iii, Bl. 34.

commanded". She also mentions some mystical notions. "I know," says she, "the sun's gate *(horizon)*, it is Thebes on earth—the noble floor of the first time—the eye of the universal lord, from the bottom of his heart, bearing his benefits, attaching those who belong to him." The queen also expresses her delight at the dedication of "the two obelisks, capped with gold, leaping on high at the principal gate of the two towers *(bachen")* of Thothmes I.

On the obelisks of this king, it will be remembered, mention is made of the obelisks being capped with gold. The inscriptions on the north side are of more than usual interest. "I have made," the queen is supposed to say, "these two obelisks; I have inlaid them with gold to my father, Amon Ra, because I have desired my name to remain sacred at the door of this house for ever and ever. The lesser are of stone, the greater of granite, without delay or stopping (?) from when I commenced carrying them on the 1. Mechir of my 15th year till the 30. Mesori of the 16th year, seven months passed from when they were first in the quarry." The word for obelisk occurs here the first time, written *techen*, accompanied by the masculine article *pai*. There is a difficulty about the calculation of time on this base: on first appearance it would seem that the whole time was seven months, dating from 1. Mechir to 30. Mesori, which is exactly the time. It is, however, then necessary to suppose an error of the scribe or stone-cutter in adding a cypher too much to the last year, for both M. Prisse and M. Lepsius give the same text in this part. This time must be that of transporting the obelisk; the inscription must have required a longer period to cut. There is not much of historical importance on the east side; the obelisks are said "to be gilded with pure gold", but this fact, as well as the claim to universal conquests, was already known.

I now pass to the obelisks of Thothmes III. His accession to power materially altered the position of Egypt; and the

long annals of his reign exalt him far above the supposed Ramesses II, or Sesostris. Throughout his rule, deputations and tribute-bearers of the different tribes came to Egypt, offering the rich products of their lands, and amongst other objects obelisks were of course included, from the granite quarries of the vicinity of Syene. Hence, in the tablet of Karnak, l. 26, after mentioning the setting up of tablets in the land of Naharaina, in order to extend the frontiers of Egypt, it states, "sledges coming from the land of P'ant in that year", which, notwithstanding the mutilated condition of the monument, must be 32nd or 33rd. In the pictorial representation of this tablet, in the tomb of the officer Rekshara, the people of *P'ant* are represented offering two obelisks of red Syenitic granite amidst the other products of the country. The general inscription calls it *aa.t m hept en ûr nu P'ant m kes m tehan kar nen sen chetb kar cher ef su cheb-anch geta.* "The coming in peace of the chiefs of P'ant, dancing on their heads (submissively) bearing their offerings to his majesty the king, the sun, the placer of creation (Thothmes III), ever living, all the true things of their lands".* Various explanations have been given of the position of the P'ant, supposed to be the Poeni,† the Libyans,‡ the people of Punon, or the south eastern borderers of Egypt;§ but it is evident that they must be in the vicinity of the Syenitic quarries; and the red figures who accompany the blacks are their Egyptian masters.

These two obelisks given by Thothmes III,‖ to the granite sanctuary, are again represented in the numerous offerings which that monarch presented to the temple of Amon. The picture on the top of the obelisk is erased. On each is one vertical line containing the name and titles of the king; and

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* Hoskins, *Æthiopia*, 4to., Lond., 1843; plate, tomb at Thebes.

† Birch, *Tr. R. Soc. Lit.*, vol. ii, p. 356. ‡ Wilkinson.

§ Lepsius, *Einleit*, s. 286.

‖ Burton, *Exc. Hier.*, plate xxix; Champollion, *Mon.*, tom. iv, pl. cccxvi.

"that he has set up two great obelisks capped *(ben ben am nub)* with gold"; which, on one, are stated to have been "at the two gates of his temple".

In a fragment from the temple of the El Assasif, amidst a list of offerings which this monarch presented to the temple of the god, collars, pectoral plates, and other gifts for the clothing of the deity, are described some of the more solid gifts of the edifices: "two obelisks (of granite) rising to a height of 108 cubits, inlaid with gold throughout their length, made in their rays. . . ."* These obelisks have long disappeared. The other obelisks of this king which remain, are those of Alexandria, Constantinople, and Rome.

The one erected in the earliest part of the reign is that of the Atmeidan, or Hippodrome of Constantinople, in the time of Theodosius. It would appear from the inscriptions that it was probably set up before the granite sanctuary of Karnak; for besides the titles of the king, it states that "he made it as a gift to his father Amon-Ra, lord of the foundations of the earth", or to the Theban Jupiter. The political information it affords is, that the king "has gone round (the great waters of) Naharaina", or Mesopotamia, and that "he has made his frontiers to the tips of the earth, his seats to Naharaina",† or Mesopotamia, which coincides with the account of the statistical tablet thence taken.

This obelisk is probably the first erected by this monarch, because it has no lateral inscriptions or restorations by subsequent kings; and it mentions the conquest of the Naharaina as a novel event, which could not have happened earlier than the thirtieth year, as appears from the Karnak tablet. It is imperfect, the lower half not having been set up, and probably still remaining under ground.

Of the other obelisks, the priority must probably be given to

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* Lepsius, *Abth.*, iii, tab. 27, 11.

† *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.*, New Series, vol. ii, p. 218; Kircher, *Œdipus*, iii, p. 305; Niebuhr, *Reise nach Arabien*, 1774, tab. 4.

those of Alexandria, one of which is erect; the others follow because they are restored by later kings.

On the pyramidion of the erect obelisk, the so-called Needle of Cleopatra, Thothmes is represented as a sphinx adoring the Ra, and Tum, the midday and the setting sun, the two deities of Heliopolis. No important political information is mentioned, except "that he has smitten the numerous lands of the Heka", or Hykshos; there is a general allusion to an extension of the frontiers of Egypt. From the text of the restoration of Ramses, it must have been placed at one of the gates of Heliopolis.*

The most remarkable and best known of the two is the fallen one, three sides of which are alone visible, two only legible, the third being in a very bad state. It was originally erected by Thothmes III, who is again here seen on the pyramidion, under the form of a sphinx seated on a tall pedestal, offering wine and water to the god Tum, or Tomos, and incense to Ra.† The obelisk again indicates that it was set up on the occasion of some festival; for besides the usual name and titles, the legend on the first side declares that the king "erected it as a gift to Ra; that he set up two obelisks capped with gold, when he celebrated the festival as he wished". Upon the next it is declared that the god "has given him the celebration of festivals upon the noble persea (*asht*), in the midst of the garden" (*m chennu bak*). On the third, the legend states that the king "has set it up to Tum", or Tomos, "who has given to him a great name, augmenting his kingdom in Petenu, in that he has placed to him the throne of Seb, the dignity (*aau*) of *Cheper*". Even of the fourth side, what remains alludes to "the celebration of very many festivals". This shows that the obelisk was set up late in the king's reign, probably not earlier than the thirtieth year. On the Karnak tablet, in the account of the

* Norden, pl. viii, ix, *Descr. de l'Egypte*, A. vol. v, pl. 33.

† Burton, *Exc. Hier.*, pl. li; Kircher, *Œdipus*, iii, 341, for N. W. side; Norden, pl. vii.

twenty-ninth year of Thothmes, mention is made apparently* of a daily sacrifice, "as it is in the festivals of Egypt",—the word *heb*, or "festival", being given by M. Lepsius from Champollion's copy. It is singular to find this account in a narrative of what the king is represented doing out of Egypt, and it probably relates to his triakonteris, or circle of thirty years, religiously celebrated abroad. That the hierarchy attached the utmost importance to the due performance of the rite is clear; and the elevation of triumphal obelisks gave *éclat* to the epoch.

Last, but not least, of the obelisks of this monarch, is that at present on the Lateran hill at Rome, generally called the Obelisk of St. John of the Lateran. Like all its fellows, it has suffered much from its removal, and, transplanted from the ever serene skies of Thebes to even the Italian atmosphere, has lost much of its original colour. It is placed on a high pedestal not well adapted for displaying its beauty. It has been often published; and there is no obelisk, the inscription of which is more curious and historically important. It was commenced by Thothmes, but not set up by him, the glory being reserved for his son and successor, who is by no means slow to claim the honour. This obelisk was a Theban one. The king appears on the cap, or pyramidion,† receiving life from Amon-Ra and Tum, while on the base he offers wine and water to the god. The central line alone refers to his erection of the work, the lateral ones being added by his son. Thothmes III gave it "as a gift (*mer*) to Amon-Ra". It also seems not to have been in the Karnak quarter, but upon the western bank of the river, either at Medinat Haboo or Gournah. On the south side the inscriptions allude to the height of the monument: "he set up an obelisk, towering on high above the other edifices of Thebes, when he first set up an obelisk in Nasr". On the eastern side it mentions, "presenting it to Amon-Ra, in his house belonging to

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* *Auswahl.*, taf. xii, l. 7.

† Ungarelli, *Interpretatio Obeliscorum*, 8vo., Romæ, 1842, tab. i; Kircher, *Œdipus*, iii, 164.

his gifts, beyond what had been given before". On the western side, "the lord celebrating millions of festivals" is mentioned. This closes the obelisks of the great Thothmes; and it is singular that none of his successors of this dynasty erected any obelisk worthy of the name, for they either only completed the others which he had commenced, or left the erection of such monuments to their successors. One obelisk, indeed, of very small proportions, exists of Amenophis II, discovered in a village of the Thebaid, and presented by the Pasha, in 1838, to the Duke of Northumberland. It is of the usual red syenitic granite, and is inscribed upon its front face. Immediately under the pyramidion, Amenophis II is represented offering upon his knees a conical cake to the god Num-Ra, the Chnumis, Chnemis, or Ammon Chnebis. Down the shaft is a perpendicular line of hieroglyphs, stating that the king has made two obelisks to his father, Num-Ra, "either at a place called "*Sha-t*", or "at the altar". This obelisk also bears traces of the violence of the Sun-worshippers, the name of Amenophis has been anciently obliterated; but those who reinserted it, substituted for that of Amenophis II, the divine ruler of Peten, "that of Amenophis III, the divine ruler of Naser", or the western bank, for some reasons not known; either in forgetfulness, or in the hurry of some great public change.*

The great obelisk of the Lateran was not finished by Thothmes; and Amenophis II does not appear to have taken any part in its completion. Thothmes IV, who is commonly supposed to be the grandson of the great Thothmes, however, terminated the work, adding lateral inscriptions, in which he not only mentions this, but also some other curious facts. On the left line of the south side he states: "When his majesty finished the great obelisk brought by his father, the king, the Sun establisher of creation (Thothmes III), when his majesty.....

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* M. Bonomi, *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.*, New Series, vol. i, p. 170. M. Prisse, *Rev. Arch.*, iii, 731.

this obelisk remained (?) still for the thirty-fifth year in its place, in the hands of the workmen at the southern quarter of Thebes; as ordered by my father to set it up, I, his son, assented." On the line of the right side he states that he "set it up in Thebes, capping it with gold, illuminating Naser with its beauty, cut in the name of his father, the perfect god, the Sun placer of creation (Thothmes III), in order that the name of his father should remain sacred (*uah*) at the temple of Amon-Ra". The inscriptions on the east side are still more remarkable; for there the king speaks of his gifts to the temple of Amon-Ra. On the left columns he mentions, "multiplying gifts, in Thebes, of gold, tin (*chesbet*), copper, and precious stones, and a great barge (*bari*) of Amen, who defends the chiefs (*ur hau*), on the river, produced from the true acacia (*ash*) wood, which his majesty cut in the land of Rutech, inlaid through its length with gold: all its decorations being of gems, to receive the beauty of father Amon-Ra, when he goes on the river, made by the son of Tum, Thothmes, the crown of crowns".* Of these barges, or rather floating shrines of the gods, much is already known. Although in hieratic strain, the inscription on the right side is equally remarkable; and, as no very intelligible translation has been given of it, I here venture to do so. It calls the king "the good god, powerful warrior, the chief who leads those who belong to him, who sends terror into the Mena (Shepherds), who roars in Phut, whose kingdom is permanent, brought up by his father Amon: the chiefs of all lands dance to his spirits, speaking with his mouth, making with his hands, he has ordered all of their creation; the king, the Sun establisher of created beings, establishing, as king, his name in Thebes". Hence it appears that this monarch also had signally embellished Thebes. On the north side, indeed, the notions are rather religious than

* Cf. Ungarelli, *Int. Ob.*, tab. i, and the unintelligible translation he has given, p. 37-41. This is probably the barge of Sesoosis, made of cedar, gilded outside and silvered inside, 280 feet long, which he dedicated with an obelisk, 190 cubits high, and other gifts. (Diod. ii, 57.)

historical. It calls him "the king, beloved of the gods, honoured by the spirits, the excellent, who hails the sun in the cabin, and adores Tum in the ark; the lord of the earth, building Naser for ever; making his monuments in Thebes, to the gods of the temple of Ammon. Moreover, he was made the veritable son of Amon-Ra, crowned on his throne; Thothmes (IV), crown of crowns, beloved of Amon-Ra, the everliving!" The line on the right side also contains the title of king, "the perfect god, the image of rulers, whose dominions are established like those of Tum, the powerful soldier, afflicter of foreigners, Sun placer of creation, who captures by his power, like the lord of Nasr, very glorious like Mentu (Mars), to whom Amon has given his power over every country; the annihilated lands come to him, his respect is in their bellies, the son of the sun, Thothmes (IV), crown of crowns, beloved of him who is the male and female, living like the sun for ever!" This was, probably, the last side executed, for while on all others Thothmes III offers to the hawk of the Horus, on this, the offering is made by Thothmes IV. On the western side more information is accorded of the position of the obelisk, the king again alluding to his constructions, to the usual trampling of his enemies under his sandals, and his going in a good path; "his majesty is proved", it states, "how beautiful are his memorials; he is the king himself, who gives the choicest of his works, like the wall of the south (Phtha); he has set it up in the region of the Hours", *i. e.*, the heaven; "he has rejoiced his heart in making it". In another part it states that "he has reckoned what he has planned". On the right lateral line, it states that "every one rejoices in seeing its great beauty, he has given it from his heart, the chiefs dance to his spirits; he has made it as a memorial to his father Amon Ra, erecting a very great obelisk at the upper gate of Thebes, facing Naser,"* or the western bank.

* Cf. M. De Rougé, *Tombeau d'Ahmes*, p. 73, reads *Tâme* for the name of this region; I read, *Shaa em Nasr*, "crowned in Nasr"; Champollion, *Mon.* t. iv, pl. cccxii, if this is not a variant of the word, *esr-usr-ger*.

None of the monarchs of this dynasty, who succeeded, have left obelisks behind them. This is the more extraordinary, because one, Amenophis III, executed architectural works of equal magnificence and difficulty, and the temples of Luxor and Gournah ought to have been provided with them. It is, indeed, possible that the rival sects of Amon and Aten, who succeeded him, may have destroyed all such, and that in the confusion which followed there was no time for aught but public disturbance and religious hatred.

But as the fortunes of the monarchy once more revived, the desire to perpetuate the memorials of great deeds on imperishable monuments reappeared also; and conquests and the arts marched hand in hand. The time of the first monarch was amply engaged in chasing the enemies of Egypt from her soil, and he left the unfinished task to his successor, who once more restored the limits of the empire and who undertook public works on a style still more magnificent. One obelisk, the Flaminian,* remains of Sethos I, and that he did not live to complete, for the inscriptions of three sides only bear his name, those on the fourth being added by the great Rameses, his successor, who also placed lateral lines to the other, to show that he had dedicated the monument. On the north, south, and west sides, the scenes of the pyramidion represent Sethos, as a sphinx, worshipping, either Ra, or Tum, the gods of Heliopolis; in the scenes below and at the base he repeats the offerings. In this obelisk there is nothing of a political interest, except that the king has "afflicted the Mena or Shepherds", and of the position of the obelisk, only general terms alluding to Pen or Peten occur: "glorious are his gifts in Pennu, placed for ever, opening to the props of the heaven, remaining perpetually to....the temple of the Sun", which is detailed on the north side. On the west is mentioned his "filling Pennu with obelisks in the

* Bp. Gibraltar. *Tr. R. Soc. Lit.*, vol. i, new series, p. 176 and following. Ungarelli, *Int. Ob.*, tab. ii.

light of the beams of the temple of the Sun", a second allusion to the monoliths, considered as the sunbeam.

The greatest number, however, were erected by the great Rameses; and the consideration of his works reopens the question of whether there were two or three monarchs of that name in the 19th dynasty; to settle which it is necessary to commence with those of Luxor. Now, it will be remembered that there are two obelisks before the propylæa at Luxor, one of which has been removed to Paris, the other still remaining in its place. Both differ considerably from those of the eighteenth dynasty. On three sides of the Paris obelisk there is a central line, which is always that of the original dedicator, flanked by two others, in the name which supplies the triple inscription on the fourth side. Yet the difference is wholly in the prenomen, or solar name, of the king, for both were called Rameses, the one of the original legends, *Ra user ma*, which Hermapion has translated for ὃν ἀλκίμου Ἄρηι ἐδωρήσατο, while the subsequent form, which appears in the cartouches of Rameses, *satp en Ra*, is translated by the same ὃν Ἡλίου προεκρίνεν. It is difficult to conceive, if the central and lateral dedications are by the same monarch, why the same king should have added the latter, contrary to the principle of every obelisk extant, and this obelisk, in fact, exactly resembles the Flaminian, the original dedications of which were by Sethos I, with the restorations of Rameses II. The pyramidion of this obelisk is imperfect; but the scenes on the top of the shaft shew Rameses *(Ra user-ma)*, offering wine to Amon-Ra and Rameses *(Ra user-ma satp en Ra)*, offering water. Very little information is afforded, either of a political or architectural nature, by this inscription. In one standard the king mentions his conquests over the Mena, or "Shepherds"; in a religious style he is flattered as "being of the same substance as Tum"; or, "the matter *(maai)* divine of his father Amon Ra".* There is, indeed, on the south side,

* Champollion, *Mon.*, tom. iv, pl. cccix; Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscr.*; Rosellini, *M. R.*, No. cxvii; Norden, pl. cvi, *Descr. de l'Eg.*, A. vol. iii, pl. 11, 18.

a remarkable expression, for in it the king has made "the place of the great soul to rejoice", possibly alluding to Amon-Ra, who, as Num, was the greatest of created beings, the soul of the universe, and that "he has rejoiced the gods of the great temple". All this, however, contains little or no information as to the obelisk or its site; but these will be found in the entire legends of the west, and in the lateral ones of the other side. In the central line of this side, the king, Rameses II, particularly refers to "building a house for periods of years", *i. e.*, for the celebration of the festivals; and "making his work in southern Thebes", the name of the Karnak quarter.

As before, he states that "he has been crowned by Amon, on his throne upon earth, for a great lord to take every country". The allusions to his conquests are comparatively vague and insignificant. On the eastern side, it is stated, "the chiefs of all countries are under his sandals", and on the north, "that every country comes bearing gifts". Even the hatred of the disk seems forgotten; "thy name remains," says the west side, "as the heaven, thy day like the disk *(aten)* in it". On a band round the line of the obelisk, it is said, that Rameses II made it.

The standing obelisk* contains more information. On the shaft, below the pyramidion, the king kneels, and offers incense, wine, and a figure of Truth to Amon-Ra. On the first face on the north, the king is described as "the constructor of memorials, in Southern Peten, to his father Amon, who has allowed him to be on his throne"; also, that he "has made it as a memorial to his father, Amon-Ra; he has set up two obelisks of granite, placing them for millions of years at the divine residence of Rameses, whom Amon loves, at the house of Amon-Ra". It also makes allusion to his constructions at Naser, on the western bank, and the vaguer expression, of making edifices in Thebes. On the third side he states "that he has arranged the temple of Amon, and purified Naser, placing his name for

* Champollion, *Mon.*, t. iv, pl. cccxx-xxi.

ever in Thebes, and to remain perpetually in Apt"; and on the fourth side, that "he delivers the intelligence of his father, Amen, from the place of truth (tribunal), he makes all in Naser stand astonished at his monuments for ever"; also, he "has made monuments in Naser for the children of his father, Amon-Ra". This obelisk, perhaps, was erected later in the reign, for "he is called lord of the triakonteris, like Phtha, having a long time, lord of the triakonteris; and that Phtha has placed his kingdom on the great persea, in the temple of Phtha-ka, for a king to take all countries".

Although Rameses II is, perhaps, the king whose name occurs the most frequently upon obelisks, he is rather distinguished as a restorer or completer, than an actual maker of obelisks. In Egypt there are two obelisks, at San, the ancient Tanis, and the standing obelisk of Luxor still remaining of this king; in Europe, that of the Boboli gardens at Florence, and the Mattheian and Mahutæan obelisks at Rome. Besides these, are restorations made by Rameses II of the Flaminian and the Alexandrian. The inscriptions of the Luxor obelisks have been already analyzed, and it is now necessary to enter upon a consideration of the obelisks at San, both which, now fallen, were originally erected by Rameses II.

Under the pyramidion of one side, the king adores the god *Mau*, or "light". The inscriptions state, in general terms, that "he makes his frontiers wherever he wishes, none stand before him, he guides his soldiers, all lands come in submission to his power". At the foot are two scenes, the king giving wine to Mau, and a viand, called *shens*, to Tum,* the Tomos or Thom of the Greeks, the local deities.

The other obelisk at this site is broken and imperfect. On the pyramidion is seen the king adoring *Ra* and *Tum*. One vertical line descends each side of the shaft, containing the usual names, and titles, and certain indications of conquests. On

* Burton, *Exc. Hier.*, pl. xxxviii-xl; *Descr. de l'Egypte*, A. vol. v, pl. 29.

the first face the king is said to be "the smiter of the shepherds of the waste *(Mena nu sha)*, bruiser of foreigners, making all lands as if they were not". On the second the king is styled "the excessively youthful" *(renpa en her en her)*; and on the third, "him, whose heart prevails on the day of battle, Mentu (Mars) in his slashes", *(suak)* "the youth *(mahur)* of Anta", or, Anaitis, and "king over Kami and Tesher".*

Less information is afforded by the Mahutæan† obelisk, which, after all, is a truncated shaft, the lower part imperfect. There are no pictures on the pyramidion, it has instead only the name and prenomen of the king. There is no trace on this, as upon the other obelisks, of the monarch being in his youth, for he is called "the chief of festivals *(ur en hebi)*, like Ra, upon the throne of Tum"; also, that he has made many gifts to the house of the Sun". This obelisk, consequently, must have been placed before one of the gates of the temple of the Sun. Still less important are the inscriptions of the Mattheian obelisk,‡ containing only the name and title of the king.

I now pass to the inscription of the obelisks of the Boboli gardens, at Florence. At the apex is a winged scarabæus thrusting forward the Sun. Below are the name and prenomen of Rameses II, by whom the obelisk was erected. The inscriptions, his titles, are "great master, powerful in all countries, the king, the son of Tum, and the intelligent son of Ra". The king is also said to be "beloved" by Tum and Ra. This shews that the obelisk came from Heliopolis. There is only one line, and the tip is wanting.§

Both the erect and the fallen obelisk at Alexandria were restored by Rameses II, probably during his youth; at all events it is difficult, even as honorary epithets, to understand such phrases in the lateral inscriptions as, "he has come out of the body, to take the crowns of the sun, born to be great lord", which occurs on the right flank inscription of the second side;

* Burton, E. H., xxxix, pl. xl.
† Ungarelli, *Int. Obel.*, tab. iii.
‡ Ibid.
§ Migliarini, *Annali*, 1842, p. 161-187.

and "the noble youth, much beloved, like the disk when it gleams out of the horizon", an allusion to the nascent sun.* On the third side, indeed, the king is called "the lord of the triakonteris, like Phtha, whom the sun has produced to make the festivals of Peten-nu, and supply the temple, born lord of the earth"; but these may be merely general expressions. Rameses II also restored the fallen obelisk of Alexandria: the inscriptions, however, do not throw much light upon its object, being filled with the usual flattery of the king. On first side, left lateral line, he is said "to make his frontiers wherever he likes, being at peace through his might"; on the other side, "his eyes annihilate those he looks at; none can speak to his brow"; on the next side it is stated that, "he is a powerful hero, like the son of Nupe (Osiris), none stand before him",† in the left line; while the right states that "he has chased the southern foreigners to the sea, the north to the poles of heaven". In the left lateral line of the third side, the inscriptions state "that he has brought his work into the house of his father Tum, never was such seen in the house of his father". The inscriptions of this obelisk, as given by Burton‡ and Champollion,§ are so widely different, as regards this last side, that it is impossible to reconcile them. I have followed Burton. A mere fragment of another obelisk of this monarch, containing his name and titles, existed at the Collegio Romano in the time of Kircher.‖

As in the case of the standing obelisk of Luxor, the Flaminian obelisk has the triple inscription of the fourth side, and the lateral ones of the rest, added by Rameses II, in his second prenomen. Now it is natural to conclude that this must have been done early in his reign, when he was busied with finishing what his predecessor had already left unfinished, as he proceeded with the temples of Heliopolis and Thebes. The in-

* Champollion, *Monumens*, t. iv, pl. cccxliv. † Ibid.

‡ *Exc. Hier.*, li. § *Mon.*, tom. iv, pl. cccxliv.

‖ Kircher, *Œdipus*, iii, p. 383.

scriptions, however, of Rameses are neither illustrative of the object of the obelisk, nor of the political period. On the pyramidion, Rameses adores Atum, or Tum, as a sphinx; on the shaft, he offers truth to the god. In very pompous style he speaks of "making monuments like the stars of heaven, his deeds surpassing heaven, shining rejoicing over them at his house of millions of years of his majesty; beautiful has been this monument for his father, as he wished, placing his name on the house of the Sun." In the line on the left, the king is said "to ennoble Peten with great monuments, born of the gods, in their shape, in the great house". The right line states, that "all in Egypt (*Kami*) will rejoice† at the beams of the horizon, when they see what he has done". From this, indeed, it may appear that it was set up at Heliopolis. The inscriptions at the other sides are of less precise interest. On the left line of the side he is called "the youth whom the gods have led, building their temples"; on the right line, "he gives joy to Peten", or "Pen, while he reigns"; on the western side there is none, except the set phrases of "ruler of Egypt, chastiser of foreigners, greatest of the powerful". On the north side, indeed, some similar ideas occur: "great is his name in all lands, through the power of his might, and he has filled the . . . . (*ta* or *ka*), with his glories".‡

Every king of Egypt especially prided himself upon his obelisks. In the Sallier Papyrus,§ containing the poem of Pentur on the grand campaign of Rameses II against the Khita, the king, addressing Amon, says: "Do I not make for thee edifices, and tablets very many....filling thy temple with captives, building up for thee a place for a million of years, placing altars in the temple, entirely giving first-fruits of all lands....supplying thee thy sacred food, sacrificing to thee thousands of bulls. I

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* Ungarelli, *Interp. Obelisc.* tab. i; Kircher, *Œdipus*, iii, p. 180.

† Ibid., cf. *Chæremon in Tzetzes Exeg. ad Homer.*, a Hermann *in Draco*; 8vo., Lipsiæ, 1812, p. 99.

‡ Or "made it by his wisdom", or "blessing", *shet ta em naif bash t.* This part is much mutilated.

§ *Select Papyri*, pl. xxv, l. 8, 9.

build for thee great pylons of stone, storing for thee eternal granaries, leading thee obelisks from Abu (Elephantina?)".

After the death of Rameses II, none of his successors appear to have had either time or inclination for such works; and if the great builder of Medinat Haboo lived to erect such shafts of stone, none have survived the devastations of time. Under the reign of his successor, Menephtha, however, they are mentioned. In an historical papyrus of the British Museum, of this date, the details of an obelisk are described, of 110 cubits. It was cut, according to the writer, in the name of his majesty. The height of its shaft was 110 cubits; that of the pedestal, 10 cubits; the circuit from its base, 7 cubits, in all directions, going to a point for two cubits. Its cap was one cubit in the perpendicular; its slope was .....* One of the successors of Rameses, Miammun the Rameses (vi of Rosellini,† and the v of Bunsen), made an addition to the inscriptions of the obelisk of Thothmes I, standing at Karnak. The inscriptions upon the east side are the usual set phrases, except that the king particularly alludes to Naser, or the western bank, "doing things in Naser" is the expression. On the south side left lateral line, he speaks of "rejoicing", or "raising up Naser like the heaven, giving temples to the earth"; while on the right line he states that "he makes S. Peten or Pen (Karnak) like heaven's horizon". He repeats the same on the left lateral line of the western side, "making monuments," he states, "in Naser, Thebes is like the heavenly horizon," *i. e.* shining, lucid. At the head of this line he states that "he rises to open the eyes of the good".‡ Interesting as all this is, little more can be gleaned from it than that the king executed some repairs upon both banks of the river; but the temples must have been

* *Select Papyri*, xlix, 15 l., qy. 5.; Dr. Hincks, Brit. Archeol. Assoc., Winchester Meeting, p. 253. All these technical details are difficult to make out.

† Rosellini, M. R., No. xxx.

‡ Some such expressions probably gave rise to the story of Pheron, Herod. ii, 110; Diodorus, i, c. 59.

always being added to. A long interval now divides us from any obelisk. An unknown king, probably one of the twenty-first dynasty, has cut, in a very humble manner, his name on the standing obelisk at Alexandria.* No room remained for any elaborate statement, so he just endorsed his name and prenomen on the monument: the name is gone, and the prenomen, which, according to Burton, reads *Ra usr cheper satp en Ra*, "the sun who defends creation, whom the sun has chosen"; is, according to Mr. Harris, who has most kindly inspected it for me in July last, *Ra neter cheper, satp en Ra*, "the sun god of creation, whom the sun has selected". This is, however, unknown. Hence, till the time of the twenty-sixth, there are no obelisks; and the first which we have is that of the Campus Martius at Rome, called the Obeliscus Campanensis, erected by Psammetichus I, a great reviver of old usages at the time of the Egyptian renaissance. It differs from those as yet described, by having a double line of hieroglyphs down each side, three of which, much mutilated, only remain. On the pyramidion, the king, figured as a sphinx, adores Ra and Tum, the gods of Heliopolis, where the obelisk was set up. He is styled, on the south side, "beloved of Tum, lord of Petenu", and "of the spirits of Pennu".† He seems also to allude to his taking (*ti*) of the crown, and of the Pschent, referring to the extinction of the dodecharchy; and again occurs that ever-mentioned "first time of celebrating the festival".

Sais was also embellished with obelisks,—the one called the Minerveus,‡ at Rome, small, indeed, but highly interesting, being dedicated to Tum, who dwells in Sas or Sais, and in what was called the region *Anch*, or "life", the mystical name of the west, and to Nit or Neith, also indwelling in the same region, and in the royal residence of Northern Egypt, which means Sais. Henceforth there are no extant obelisks till the reign of the Lagidæ.

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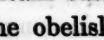
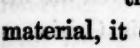
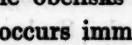
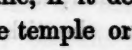
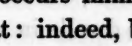
* Burton, E. H., li. † Ungarelli, *Int. Ob.*, tab. iii; Zoega, pl. 1, 2, 6.
‡ Ungarelli, tab. iii; Kircher, *Œdipus*, iii, p. 379.

Let us pause awhile, as we have reached the period of the Persian conquest, and the opening of Egypt to the Greeks. What the age wanted in skill, if Theophrastus is to be believed, it made up for in material, for the king of Babylon sent an obelisk of emerald, 40 cubits high, composed of four pieces. It requires great faith in the authors to believe it.* According, indeed, to Herodotus,† Pheron, the son of Sesostris, dedicated two obelisks, on account of the recovery of his eyesight, at the temple of the Sun, but whether at Heliopolis or Thebes, is not stated. Herodotus also saw two large obelisks at the temple of Sais, in the courtyard, which he calls the temenos.‡ This Greek, as usual, follows the legend which he heard from the interpreters, and has confused even what he heard.

There are, however, between the period of the Greek and Persian rule two small obelisks, formerly removed from a house in Cairo, and now in the British Museum.§ They were erected by a monarch named Harnechthebi, or Nechtharhebi, to the Trismegist Hermes, or Tot; and these have been either taken from the small pylon of an ancient temple of the god at Memphis, or from some other neighbouring site. As the last of the Pharaonic obelisks, they are interesting. On two sides of each, the king speaks of himself as "beloved of Tot", or "Thoth, who is set over pure spirits", and "the lord of hieroglyphs". On the other he mentions that "he has set up an obelisk in his house of basalt; it is capped with black ..... they have given him all perfect life, like the sun".‖ On the other obelisk¶ the king states that he is "beloved of Tot", or "Thoth, lord of hieroglyphs, who dwells in the city of Hesar"; and in some other place, "presiding over truth, giving honour to the gods"; and the dedicatory inscriptions again mention their being capped with black .... that he may be safely crowned with a perfect

* Theophrastus, *De Lapid.*, i, c. 2; Pliny, N. H., xxxvii, c. 5.
† ii, 110. ‡ ii, 170.
§ Nos. 523, 524; *Décr. de l'Egypte*, A. vol. v, pl. 21, 22. ‖ Ibid., pl. 21.
¶ Ibid., pl. 22; Bp. Gibraltar in the *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.*, vol. ii, p. 457.

life". There are some difficulties about these inscriptions; for other inquirers have come to the conclusion that the word *bachen** means basalt, as referring to the material of which the obelisks were made; while, if it describes the material, it occurs immediately after the temple or house, and refers to that: indeed, basalt was the favourite building material of the age. The word  however, often means tower, and is the Hebrew בהן. The word, *ben ben*,  sometimes written *ber ber*,  or *bebe*, also means "the  cap, the tip, the horn",  or "pyramidion" of the obelisk. The material with which all the other obelisks were capped, was gold; and Abdallatif, it appears, says he saw a cap of bronze gilt still remaining in its place. Here, however, the phrase is *hem-kam* The instrumental *m* before it, however, shews that it is a substance. It is, unfortunately, mentioned elliptically, without any determinative; the latter syllable means "black", and, from analogy, some black substance. The nearest approach to this word occurs in the plate representing the tribute brought to Thothmes III from Phut, in the tomb at Thebes, and described in the hieroglyphic text as "the coming in peace of the chiefs of the south land of Phut Pent-han nefer",† or "Sent-han nefer, dancing on their foreheads, bearing their tribute, falling down before his majesty the king, the Sun placer of creation (Thothmes III), they see his power in every land". The sixth offering, of the colour of vermillion,‡ reads *hemka;* but it is not sure that it is the same word. Jasper, indeed, is often written *shespu.* Whatever the material was, it was not gold, but some black substance, to harmonize with the basalt. The monarch who erected these two obelisks has been supposed

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* Champollion, *Gr. Egypt.*, p. 100.

† This place is often mentioned in the texts. The *Kefa*, who appear in the same place, are stated to be the isles in the midst of the great sea. (*Cyprus.*)

‡ Hoskins *Æthiopia*, 4to., Lond. 1830, Tomb at Thebes; Sir G. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, Series I, pl. iv.

to be the Amyrtæus, or Nectabis, *i. e.* Nectanebo II, whom his name rather resembles. He was after the Persian rule.

Some fragments of obelisks of the later period existed in the time of Kircher, at Rome. One, which he engraved in his *Œdipus*,* has the titles of the god Phtha Socharis Osiris, as "great god, lord of the tomb (*shta*), who dwells in the palace",† as part of the title of a monarch "beloved of that god"; probably that it was set up at the Hephæsteum of Memphis.

After this period, no obelisks of sufficient consequence to attract the attention of travellers have remained, if, indeed, any were erected in the period; for Egypt, as a conquered province, had all her revenues carried out of the country, and nothing left for public improvement. These great works were connected with the national feeling, and required the energies and resources of the people to execute. Even the Ptolemies, the earlier of whom were deeply imbued with the love of art, were unable to execute these works, so low had taste declined. According to Pliny, Ptolemæus Philadelphus erected one at Alexandria, of 80 cubits in height, which Nectabis had cut in the quarry, but not sculptured with hieroglyphs. This obelisk was transported by the architect, Satyrus. It was placed in the Arsinoëum, by the king, as a mark of conjugal affection.‡ The Ptolemies, indeed, were more distinguished as renewers of obelisks than makers of them; at all events none remain of their temples, although they have raised some that vie with those of the older dynasties. One perfect obelisk, and the broken base of another, remain of those set up at the temple of Philæ, which stood at the entrance of the propylon, and which bear the names of Ptolemy Euergetes II, and his wife Cleopatra.§ A copy of them was first published in a privately-printed plate, by Mr. Bankes, which has been subsequently given by M. Lepsius in his *Auswahl*,‖ from collations and corrections

* Kircher, iii, 382. † Place of the Bee

‡ Pliny, N. H., xxvi, s. 14.

§ See M. Lepsius, *Lit. Gaz.*, May, 1839, p. 279. ‖ Tab. xvii.

made with the text. Each side has carved upon it a single line of hieroglyphs, which offer the curious anomaly of facing two ways, those which allude to the king, one way, and those referring to the deities, another. On it are the names of Ptolemy Euergetes and his wife Cleopatra; but the inscriptions are loaded with religious phrases, and scarcely express more than that the king has set up this obelisk to his mother, Isis. On the base is a petition, in Greek, to relieve the priests from certain charges made upon them by the different officers of state,* and the rescript of the monarch. The inscriptions of this obelisk have a certain interest, from the part they play in the decipherment of hieroglyphs, as it was from the joint names of Ptolemy and Cleopatra they were first discovered. In the religious portion of the inscriptions there is little of interest.

From this time till the Augustan age there is nothing relating to obelisks, except that Strabo,† who visited Egypt at the period, mentions obelisks at the tombs of the kings, and those of Heliopolis.‡ The idea of transforming them into the gnomons of dials thence commenced, an idea which originated with the Alexandrian school, a great departure from their original scope. Augustus transferred to Rome the obelisk of Semenpserteus, removed by Ptolemy Philadelphus to the Arsinoëum at Alexandria; and Pliny speaks of the two obelisks of Alexandria, which were the work of the ancient king, Mesphres, by whom he means the king of Manetho's, eighteenth dynasty. These he reckons at 82 cubits; and, in his time, they stood in the Port at the Temple of Cæsar.§ The obelisk which was erected in the Campus Martius at Rome, also removed by Augustus, was nine Roman feet less, and made by Sethosis. This obelisk was converted into a gnomon of a dial by the skill of Facundus Novus, a mathematician of the time; but, after thirty years, it performed incorrectly.‖ These obelisks were dedicated to the Sun. Tiberius dedicated another to Augustus.

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* Letronne, *Inscript.*, Georg. i, p. 303.

† Lib. xviii, p. 1171.

‡ Ibid., xvii, 1158.

§ Pliny, N. H., xxxvi, c. 9, s. 14.

‖ Ibid., xxxvi, c. ix, s. 15.

Caligula removed another obelisk from Heliopolis, and placed it on the extremity of the circus of the Vatican, at the end of the *Spina.** According to Pliny, this obelisk had been erected by Nuncoreus, the son of Sesosis, for the recovery of his sight;† but he merely repeats the story of Pheron. To it Nero hung the crowns which he had gained in the chariot-races of Greece.‡

The first Cæsars were content to transport, as has been shewn, the magnificent obelisks of the old Egyptian period, and use them as *metæ* or spinæ in the hippodromes; but the last of the twelve, Domitian, who possessed a certain taste for the arts, allied with superstition, revived the Isiac worship at Rome. The rites of this goddess had, indeed, been introduced under the republic; but they were distasteful to the sterner spirits of the republic, and abolished. Under the empire the worship again revived, but it does not appear that it was well received by the state. Domitian, however, became attracted by its rites and doctrines, and in a spirit of paneclecticism built a Serapeum and Isium in the Campus Martius, instituted a college of priests, had daily offerings of Nile-water made to the goddess, set up at least an obelisk, which still remains at Rome,—the one called the Pamphilian Obelisk, which formerly stood in the circus of Maxentius, near the Appian way. The pyramidion is much destroyed; and upon each side the emperor stood adoring Ra (Serapis) and Isis. On each side is one perpendicular line of hieroglyphs, quite different from those of the Pharaonic time, distinguished by their leanness and the admixture of new and unusual signs. An attempt is, however, kept up to follow the ancient Pharaonic style of five titles.§ It also appears to have been set up early in the reign, for on the eastern side he commences by stating that "he received the kingdom of his father Vespasian, in the place of his true brother, when his soul mounted on high" (*ter ap ba f er hri*).‖ He also claims to be "lord of festivals, like Phtha", and "beloved of Phtha

* Pliny, N. H., xvi, c. 40. † Id. xxxvi, c. 14.
‡ Dio., lxiii, c. 21. § Ungarelli, tab. iv. ‖ Id., p. 143.

and Isis". The expression in the standard of the north side, "the powerful youth", shews the commencement of the reign; he also states that "he has been crowned with the dominions of his father"; and, that "he has set up an obelisk of granite to his father, who allows those that have eyes to see, he has done all that he wishes, establishing the name of the kings of the upper and lower world on the great throne, on the throne of Horus, with those for the *Kans Pluia* (*gens Flavia*), inscribing the victories of his ancestors". The rest of this inscription is not very intelligible, and is rather in a religious than historical strain. The general information is, that Domitian erected it at the Serapeum.

A further proof of the devotion of Domitian to the Isiac worship, will be seen in the obelisks erected before the temple of Isis, at Beneventum. They were a pair; one, the most perfect, still remains in the town; the other fragment at the Bishop's palace. The first side of the perfect obelisk is probably that marked II in Ungarelli,* which contains in itself the purport of the whole, stating, that "the noble temple of Isis, mistress of Benemts", or, "Beneventum, and of the parhedral gods, was founded by one Lucillus Lupus", or, "Rufus,† an imperial officer";‡ the same idea, with variations, occurs on the other sides, "whose good name", or appellation, is "Lucillus", etc. "To all the gods and the gods of his country of Benemetus", or, "Beneventum". The second, or mutilated obelisk,§ has four lines, one upon each side, repeating the same idea. The emperor is called the ruler of all the tribute countries coming to his house, who takes the country of Rome.

There are two other obelisks of this age, one called the

* Ungarelli, *Int. Ob.*, tab. v, A.; Zoega, p. 84; also a private plate of Cardinal Borgia.

† This name has been hastily read Rufus (Champollion, *Précis*, p. 95); but the sound of the standing lion is by no means known. The seated lion is, of course, an L or R.

‡ *Uga nen*, etc., on side II, III, IV, literally, "bringer forth of what is brought"; but whether in the active or passive sense is uncertain.

§ Ungarelli, tab. v, B.

Borgian, the other the Albani, which are scarcely known, except from the plates of Kircher* and Zoega;† the first is in the Museo Borbonico of Naples, but the second has unfortunately disappeared. There is every reason to believe that they were a pair, which stood before some temple. The Borgian obelisk bears the Roman name Tacitus,‡ or Severus Tacitus,§ perhaps the prefect of Egypt; while other names, Sextus and Africanus, are legible upon both obelisks.‖ It is impossible, however, from mutilated inscriptions, to make out the reason of the erection of these obelisks, although it is probable that, like those of Beneventum, they were destined for some temple erected in Italy.

The aged Nerva, and the rude Trajan, seem to have cared little for the religion of Egypt, which continued to draw forth the sarcastic bitterness of the Roman aristocracy; and was regarded as the most degraded form of pantheism, notwithstanding the philosophical explanations. Even caricatures were indulged in against the Egyptian gods in Egypt itself. The sceptical Hadrian mourned his deceased favourite upon an obelisk. His death in Egypt, upon the Nile, suggested the idea, and the emperor, who probably looked upon the religion as a policy, endeavoured to revive the decaying feeling for paganism by imposing it in all points of view.

It is much to be regretted that the critical knowledge of the hieroglyphs is not so far advanced as to clear up the mystery which envelops the death. This monument must have been erected about A.D. 122, and it is the taste of its age. The hieroglyphs are in two vertical lines, like those of the obelisk of Psammetichus, but of an execution far inferior. This obelisk is said to have been discovered on the site of the circus of

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* *Obeliscus Minerveus*, p. 176.

† *De Obelisc.*, p. 192. It is only followed by the expression, *shaf*, "sets up".

‡ Champollion, *Précis*, p. 98, pl. vii, 9-11.

§ So, I think, is to be restored the mutilated group, *Sev. Tkts.* Champollion, l. c.

Aurelian; but it was probably removed there, for its legends point to another destination.

It is rather difficult perhaps to decide which side commences this inscription; but the north, which, although mutilated, contains the titles of Hadrian, and which has the emperor represented on its pyramidion, is the first to all appearance. The emperor has a prenomen of some significance, "beloved of the Nile and the other gods". In the second line, which continues with the titles, are some remarkable expressions:—"he has penetrated *(peh-naf)* every where *(au-ateru)*, he has trod this earth in its four directions *(chent naf ta pen her aft f)*; the bulls and their cows *(females)* responding with joy; he rejoiced his heart with his dearly beloved empress, the regent of the earth, Sabina, the ever-living Augusta." After this occurs, "the Nile, the father of the gods"....: *(au ter sau)* "it was the time of pouring forth the water", refers, undoubtedly, to the inundations;* but why mentioned is by no means clear; whether describing the death, or festival, of Osiris-Antinoos. The eastern side commences with the name of "Osiris-Antinoos, the justified", coming out of the flesh; the good youth lamented, or "fêted daily", must allude to his death: as that "letting fall his arms he received the commands, which are those of the gods", may to his throwing himself into the Nile, at Besa, for the welfare of Hadrian and the empire;† and there is an allusion in it to Thoth, as lord of Hermopolis, near which he perished. The remaining expressions of this side allude to his condition in the future state; "in", it says, "their time of the night, constantly and daily, as he wishes in the heart of his (Osiris's) servants, he has gone discoursing all that he thinks or wishes, like the beatified souls *(rech)* offering his adorations, taking his place in the fields of the wise spirits *(bach akar)*, who belong to *(em nechf)* Osiris, in the midst of the hills *(taser)*. They make his

* Ungarelli, *Int. Ob.*, tab. v, Kircher iii, p. 371. Zoega, pl. 3.

† Dio Cassius, lib. lxix.

justification, they make his words true in the whole earth, they delight him, allowing him to go wherever he wishes. The doorkeepers of hell say to him, Hail to thee! they draw their bolts, they open their doors. He begins to be in millions of millions of years, his time is...." In the southern inscription the apotheosis of Antinoos is more distinctly described. He is there called Ntiam or Divom. The part immediately following this is not very clear; it states that Antinoos "has made his.... (*heka*) in the midst (*em chen*) of the city,* which is....is its name (*fem*), is his name victorious over those on this earth, with the leaders of the boat, with the ..... of the earth, throughout all mankind, as it were...." This is followed by the speech of Thoth and Truth, who announce that they have conferred the usual benefits at his tomb. The left line continues,—that he has been adored by the influence of Thoth and Truth going by his spirits he has gone in his city....of the whole earth because he has heard the lament (?) *neh*, he has cried, he has....; he has not failed in his career, holding up his head, doing his work while being; he has made all the transformations to offer his heart, because he has made himself a god, he is the issue of.... Subsequently it mentions his mystical birth from his mother. The transformations to offer the heart is a purely Egyptian notion, often found in the ritual.†

The western side contains information of a more important character, and it is remarkable that no previous decypherer has discovered its meaning. This part commences with "the Antinoos divine, who is at rest in this city, which is in the midst of the fields of the district of the powerful lord of Harama (Rome). He is recognized for a god in the divine city which is in Egypt. Temples have been built to him; he is

* If this ambiguous part referred to Hadrian and Sabina, as Ungarelli, p. 180, supposes, it would connect with the north side, but it cannot.

† Cf. Lepsius, *Todt.* tab. xv, c. 26. The chapter of taking the heart in the Hades, and of avoiding that the heart should be taken away, c. 27, 28; that he should keep the heart (c. 29), or detain it (taf. xvi, c. 30); also taf. xxviii, c. 76.

adored as a god by the prophets and priests of the upper and lower country of Egypt. Likewise a nome has been inscribed to his name, he has been called most honoured (*atimiti*) of the Greeks of Seth and Ra (*Sethroites*), who are in the city Baka (*Besa*). Those who come to this nome have given to them splendid fields, they are good, and live, opening the temple of this god, which has been made to him under his name of the Osiris Antinoos, the justified, built of good white stone, surrounded with sphinxes, having very many caryatid statues,* both those made of great men before (Egyptians), and of the Greeks, and of all the goddesses, who gave him the breath of life which he breathed in his youth."

On the northern side of this obelisk the emperor is seen adoring Amon; on the others, Antinoos, wearing the head attire of Phtha Socharis, worships Amon and Ra.

The fields of the *tash*, or quarter, of the powerful lord, are probably the Campus Martius, and it is evident, from the expressions, "he is at rest", that the ashes of Antinoos were carried back to Rome and deposited in a sepulchre of the most magnificent description, surrounded with statues, but of what nature it is not quite certain. The probability is, that the statues of the Villa Albani, which are portraits of Antinoos, are thence derived.

Another obelisk stood in the circus of Caracalla.† Very conflicting statements are found in the Roman topographers as to the number of obelisks extant in the city. According to P. Victor‡ there were two in the Circus Maximus, the one erect, the other fallen. In the recapitulation§ he gives six great obelisks; two in the Circus Maximus, one of 120 feet, another of 88½ feet; one in the Vatican of 72 feet; one in the Campus Martius of 72 feet; two at the Mausoleum of Augustus 42½ feet; and another in the Insula Tiberina; besides forty-

* *Tut, uch*, or *chu*, determined by a sceptre. The meaning of this is uncertain, but perhaps it is the Coptic *shau*, "a trunk".

† Dio, lib. lxxviii, 9. ‡ *De Rec.*, Grœvius, Thes. iii, p. 108. § Ibid. iii.

two small obelisks with inscriptions. An uncertain author, in the description of Rome, mentions *five* obelisks; one in the Circus Maximus, 88½ feet high; one in the Vatican, 71 feet high; one in the Campus Martius, 82½ feet; the pair at the Mausoleum of Augustus, 82½ feet. Another gives *six* obelisks; the two in the circus Maximus of 122 and 88½ feet high The one in the Campus Martius, 75 feet high; two in the Mausoleum of Augustus, 42½ feet high. Another version is two in the Circus Maximus, 122 and 79 feet; one in the Campus Martius.*

In the reign of Constantius, A.D. 354, another obelisk was brought from Thebes, and erected in the Circus Maximus, and set up with a brazen sphere upon its apex. Ammianus Marcellinus† gives the translation of this obelisk from Hermapion; but its description does not at all coincide with any of the Roman obelisks, and rather resembles that of the obelisks at Luxor.

The last of the obelisks is the so-called Sallustian, which was found in the gardens of Sallust. It looks like a barbarous imitation of the Flaminian shaft, probably cut in Egypt, but the hieroglyphs executed by unskilled hands at Rome. As to interpreting its legends, it is an insult to the imagination to attempt them.‡ Strange notions, indeed, prevailed amongst the later philosophical writers as to the nature of obelisks. Porphyry§ states that they referred to fire, and that they were therefore dedicated to the Olympian gods. Cyrill thinks that they touched on scientific matters.‖ In the false book of the *Kore kosmou* of the Trismegist Hermes,¶ the god says that his learning is inscribed upon obelisks. Tertullian** mentions an obelisk which was in the Circus of the Sun: "this enormous obelisk", says he, "as Hermoteles affirms, has its

* Zoega, p. 29; *Inc. Auct. Descr. urb. Rom. apud Bandinium de Obelisc. Cæs.* p. 64.

† Lib. xvii, 4; for its metrical inscription in Greek and Roman, see Zoega, p. 53.

‡ Ungarelli, tab. vi. Zoega, tab. iv.

§ Apud Euseb., *Præpar. Evangel.*, iii, c. 2, 7. ‖ Adv. Julian. lib. ix, p. 299.

¶ Fo. 1791. Stobæus, *Eclog. Phys.*, p. 124.

** *De Spectacul.*, c. 8, p. 418. Obelisci enormitas, ut Hermoteles affirmat, Soli prostituta.

sculpture dedicated to the Sun, which gives a notion of the superstition of Egypt".

An obelisk appears to have existed in the Strategeum, or hippodrome, of Constantinople, removed from Athens by Proclus, a Patrician, under Theodosius the Younger.* In the fourth consulate of Valentinian, and the first of Neoterius, A.D. 390, an obelisk was placed in the Circus. According to Cassiodorus,† the greater was dedicated to the Sun, the lesser to the Moon. Julius Valens mentions two obelisks, dedicated by Sesonchosis to Serapis, in the temple‡ of that god at Alexandria.

I have not here endeavoured to identify the existing obelisks with the descriptions of authors; the task is replete with difficulties, and has already been fully weighed by others. To recognize an Egyptian monarch in a Latin or Greek author, is like detecting a known face in a masquerade; and the question is purely for the topographer. Those who wish to trace them can consult the works of Kircher, Zoega, M. Bunsen, and Nestor L'Hôte. Neither have I treated on the machinery they required, the restoration of them by popes to proper sites, or their consecration to the saints; nor have I critically discussed with others their interpretations, sometimes more singular than true, from the time of Kircher to P. Secchi. The critic who ferrets out the sense of these hidden characters, may collate what I have written with the translations of the Jesuit, the labours of Champollion, Rosellini, Ungarelli, and last, but not least, M. Secchi, who threatens to renew the labours of Kircher. It is, however, to be hoped that he will take care that his novelties are true, and his truths really new. I have availed myself of the best philological resources in my power; a more complete labour must be left to those who have genius, leisure, and a hieroglyphic type at their command.

S. Birch.

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* *Inc. Auct. Descr. Const. a Guid. Pancirollo*, 8vo., Venet. 1602. *Banduri Imp. Archiv.*, iii, p. 28-42.

† *Variar.* iii, c. ‡ Mai., *Auct. Class.*, vii, p. 99-100.

XIV.

ON ACRÆ,

A SYRACUSAN COLONY IN THE SOUTH OF SICILY,

AND ITS PRINCIPAL ANTIQUITIES.

Acroterial ornament at Acræ.*

SINCE many English travellers annually either visit parts of Sicily, or else make the circuit of that beautiful island, it is not a little remarkable that very few seem to pass through Palazzolo, which is distant between twenty and thirty miles to the west of Syracuse; but, if they have reached that small town in their wanderings, none of them have yet given to us in England any full or correct account of the important remains of ancient Acræ, which have, of late years, been excavated at Acremonte, near Palazzolo. In order to make up this deficiency, I purpose, in the present communication, to describe, although briefly, some of the chief architectural and other interesting monuments still existing in that ancient locality.

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* See the author's paper on "Floral Ornaments", in *Trans. R. S. Lit.*, vol. ii, New Series, and pl. 1, figs. 10, 12.

The earliest author who mentions Acræ (Ἄκραι) is Thucydides (lib. vi, cap. 5); and, from his statement, we learn that it was built by the Syracusans seventy years after their own city had been founded; and this would correspond with the year 665 B.C.

As I travelled directly from the old parent state to Palazzolo, on making the tour of Sicily in 1826, I think it will be not altogether uninteresting to commence this notice with the following extract from my diary; then to translate the Duke of Serradifalco's descriptions of the theatre and odeum, which had been discovered near that town three or four years before my visit, adding some comparative details of other like edifices; and to conclude with an account of the more important antiquities that have been there disinterred.

June 1st, 1826.—We left Syracuse, passing over several draw-bridges, at twenty minutes past 5 o'clock, A.M. We rode up to see the ruins of the castles Labdalum and Euryalus, situated on a hill or ridge, now called Mongibellisi,* in the quarter formerly named Epipolæ. Of these castles, I only remarked pieces of ancient Hellenic walls, built with solid blocks of limestone, without cement. On one side was a strong square tower. There are also one or more subterranean passages cut in the rock. We enjoyed here a fine view of the Hyblas, much cornland, the town of Augusta, and the glorious Etna, on one side; and on the other, Syracuse, the bay, and the blue sea extending towards Cape Passaro, or the promontory of Pachynus. We descended from this table land, and continued our journey towards Floridia. The sun was already very hot. Some persons were engaged in grafting the good olive on the wild olive stock. This sight brought to my mind the beautiful description in Romans xi, 17-24. Arriving at the small town of Floridia, at twenty-five minutes past 9 o'clock, we halted two hours, and breakfasted there. Fahrenheit's thermometer, in the shade at 10 A.M., stood at 74°. Remounting our mules, we rode through a narrow pass, with limestone rocks on each side, along the bed of a river. We then ascended the broad top of Hybla major. Passing some oaks, and trees of ilex and cork, we noticed plenty of the common wild honey-bees. The ground was frequently carpeted with aromatic flowers; but the hills were covered only with grass. Many boys were tending cattle and flocks of goats, and amusing themselves with their little pastoral pipes; some of them were sitting or lying down in caves in the limestone rocks. The road

* This is a Siculo-Arabic word, being compounded of an abbreviation for *Monte*, and of a corruption from *Gebel*; both signifying a *hill* or *mount*.

was bad, and the sun, in the afternoon, intensely hot. Our path became much worse as we approached Palazzolo, a small town built on the top of a hill. We arrived there at 6 o'clock; and, as there was no inn, our guides obtained a bedroom for us in the Franciscan convent.

We went to call on the Baron Judica, and to see his collection of antiquities. This elderly nobleman was fortunately at home, and he kindly shewed us his interesting relics. Having been engaged for the last sixteen years in making extensive excavations in the site of Acræ, near Palazzolo, his labours had been rewarded in discovering many curious remains, which he explained to us with considerable pleasure. Among these were numerous bronze figures, instruments, and utensils; casts for lamps, in terra-cotta; a head of Cupid, small, of Greek sculpture; a little Greek statue of a Faun, very good; a small head of Minerva, also Greek; a vast number of Græco-Sicilian fictile vases, with figures, or representations, but mostly of coarse execution; several Greek inscriptions, some few of which were of early Christians; glass bottles, coloured blue, green, etc., found in some of the sepulchres, which the Baron erroneously called Phœnician; some *manubria*, or handles of pottery, inscribed with Greek proper names; an iron ring, like a serpent, which had been covered with silver, and used for an armlet by some fair Acræan; and a few engraved gems.* The worthy Baron also showed us his work, entitled *Le Antichità di Acre*, which was published at Messina in 1819, and wherein he had given roughly-etched plates of many of his antiques.

We bade adieu to the learned Baron, and returned to the convent, where the good monks gave us a very fair supper; and on going to bed at 10 o'clock, I found the height of the thermometer to be 62°.

June 2nd.—At 5 o'clock, A.M., we started, to visit the excavations of Acræ and the theatres. These are situate on a hill, about a quarter of a mile south of Palazzolo, which bears the old name, partially modernized, of Acremonte. The small Greek theatre first arrested our attention. It is in part excavated from the natural rock, and has twelve rows of seats, with eight staircases, which divide the *coilon*, or *cavea*, into nine *cunei*. Portions of the *scena* and *orchestra* remain. I stepped the internal diameter of the orchestra, in front of the scena, and found it to be twenty-three of my paces, or about 64 English feet.† This

* Also in the collection was a winged lion, in terra-cotta, representing a *double* φαλλὸν (see *Antich. di Ercolano*, tom. vi., tab. 97; and for the *wings* of a φαλλὸς, note 2, p. 405), the head forming one, and the tail the second. I observed upon it the two Greek words, KAICY, καὶ σὺ, *and you!* Perhaps meaning, "And *hail* thou!"

† Serradifalco states, in his account (vide *post*, p. 246), that the internal diameter does *not* exceed 63·5 Sicilian palmi; but from his plan (fig. 1, tab. 32, vol. iv), the diameter is about 75 s. P., which is much nearer to my measurement; and the latter corresponds with the scale on which the same theatre is again drawn in tab. 44, vol. v.

neat theatre was discovered in 1825; its seats were built upon, not dug out of, the rock. Its back is placed against the hill, and, looking north, it commands a good view into the neighbouring valleys. Next the theatre is a fine cistern. Its appropriate *odeum* is close adjoining, towards the west, but lower; and it has the remains of five rows of seats, divided into three cunei by two staircases; and I found the internal diameter of the orchestra to be seven of my paces,* about 19 English feet. This very pretty edifice was discovered in 1822; but, being so small, it resembled, in my mind, more a model of a theatre, than one which had actually been erected for use. I then observed a piece of a hand-mill, in lava, like those which are commonly seen at Pompeii. Some remains of architecture belonging to temples and pedestals were noticed; of the latter, one inscribed CVER, supposed to mean C. VERRES, the plunderer of Sicily, was worthy of remark.†

Our guide showed us some *latomiæ*, and very many ancient sepulchres,—some having clearly been made by early Christians. The places for the bodies were hollowed out of the rock, like those in the catacombs at Syracuse. I saw a few common Greek characters scratched about on the walls. At the base of a hill, near the rock (Acremonte), are some remarkable and ancient bas-reliefs, sculptured on its surface. They have once been of good execution, but many are much decayed. Some of the figures represented are of large size, particularly one, a female, draped, and sitting down. I thought one of the subjects referred to a sacrifice; and others, to certain rites of the dead, or the reception of souls in *hades*, or the infernal regions.

From the grassy mountain there is an extensive view of the sea near Syracuse; also to the south, and the intervening country. In descending, I observed some huts covered with thatched roofs; these, our guide said, were houses for the preservation of ice, for the supply of Syracuse and other towns. Much snow falls there in the winter; so, at the present day, the words of Silius Italicus‡ are verified,—

—— "non è tumulis glacialibus Acræ
Defuerunt."

Ἄκρα signifies the *point* or *tip* of any thing;§ here, doubtless, the *summit* of the mountain. The name likewise occurs as a part or division of the ancient

* Serradifalco's plan measures about 22½ Sicilian palmi.

† I asked Baron Judica if he knew to what deities the chief temples had been dedicated, and he told me that there was evidence, from inscriptions, of the former existence of a temple to Venus; of a second to Ceres, of a third to Proserpine, and of a fourth to Diana.

‡ *Punic.*, lib. xiv, v, 206.

§ It also means a *castle, fort*, or *palace:* indeed, some derive the Latin word *arx* from Ἄκρα.

city of Jerusalem,—probably for the same reason; and other Acræ are recorded in Greece.

We returned to breakfast at the convent about half-past 6 o'clock.

It will be unnecessary to dwell on the early history of Acræ, since little is known of it, except in connexion with Syracuse; and, after the island of Sicily passed into the Roman power, it of course became a tributary city;* but as it was placed on an eminence, and near lofty hills, it probably had once proved a useful stronghold. It is mentioned, in addition to Thucydides and Silius Italicus, by Diodorus Siculus,† Livy,‡ Plutarch,§ and others; and the inhabitants are called by Pliny,‖ Acrenses, and by Ptolemy,¶ Ἀκραιοί. In later times, the able Sicilian antiquary, Fazzello, correctly pointed out the neighbourhood of Palazzolo for the site of the lost Acræ. He writes: "*Palazolus* oppidum *Acræ* olim appellatum....ejus egregium adhuc ad cœnobium minorum S. Mariæ de Jesu cognominatum jacet cadaver: quod ipsum illius esse et nominis apud seniores vestigium, quod *Acremons* adhuc est";** in which opinion the learned Prince of Biscari coincided. In the third edition of his book on the antiquities of Sicily,†† the Prince, mentioning "la terra di *Palazzo*" (doubtless intended for *Palazzolo*) observes: "One meets in this territory with the mountain named *Acrimonte*,—a name, perhaps, retained from the destroyed city of *Acri*, which is believed to have been situated in this district, according to the statement of Fazzello."

The site of Acræ in that place has at length been fully

* Pliny calls the people of Acræ, "stipendiarii".

† Diod. Sic. *fragm.* lib. xxiii. ‡ Liv., lib. xxiv, cap. 36.

§ Plutar., *Dion.*, c. xxvii. In Reiske's edition (Lipsiæ, 1776), vol. v, p. 299, the note (54) states that, as there is no place named Μακρὰν (the word used in the text) in that part of Sicily, Ἄκρας must be intended; and in the English translation (edit. Tonson, 1758), vol. vi, p. 27, it is properly rendered,—"this news being brought to Dion, while he lay near *Acræ*".

‖ Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, lib. iii, cap. 8. ¶ Ptol., iii, iv, s. 14.

** *De Reb. Sic.*, Prior Decad., lib. x, p. 207; edit. Francof., 1579.

†† *Viaggio per tutte le Antichità della Sicilia*, Palermo, 1817, p. 100.

confirmed; and since the distinguished archæologist, the Duke of Serradifalco, has published, in his recent beautiful volumes on the *Antiquities of Sicily*, able and interesting accounts of Acræ, and its ancient remains,* I will insert some extracts from them; particularly as the work itself is expensive, and not easily obtained by the general reader.

"It remains to speak of Acræ, the only one among the Syracusan colonies of which there exist any valuable remains and important records. Various controversies arose at different times among antiquaries about the site of this city, but the monuments, which, by the excavations effected by Baron Judica, and recently by the Sicilian commission of antiquity, were discovered in Acremonte, near Palazzolo; as well as the distance of 24 miles that separates it from Syracuse, and which exactly answers to that indicated in the itinerary of Antoninus, and to the Roman Tables, do not leave any doubt that *there* stood the ancient Acræ.† We have already remarked that the epoch of its foundation was (665 B.C.; or) in the fourth year of the 28th olympiad: little, in fact, is preserved of the history of its events, connected as they always were with those of the mother country, to which it remained united up to the time of Hiero II (who died 216 B.C.,) when, through the treaties between the Romans and this prince, it was comprehended among the cities that formed the kingdom of Syracuse;‡ and when the latter fell into the power of Marcellus (212 B.C.), it followed the lot of all the cities of Sicily, and was numbered by the Romans amongst their tributary places.§

"The *cavea* of this theatre shews that, according to ancient custom, it was cut out of the rock, but the seats were placed upon it, and have therefore for the most part disappeared. The Greek architects were accustomed, in order that those who assisted at the spectacle might be recreated with a pleasant

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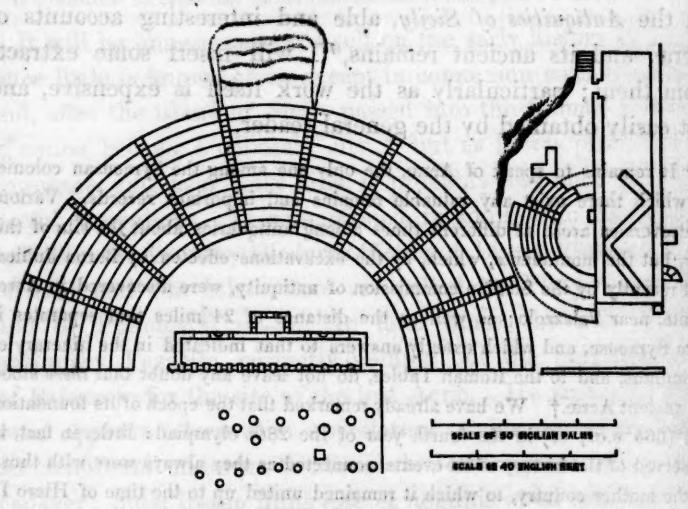
* Vide *Le Antich. della Sicilia*, per Domenico Lo Faso Pietrasanta, Duca di Serradifalco, vol. iv, pp. 158-66; Palermo, 1840.

† Fazzello (Decad. i, lib. x) determined the site of Acræ to be *near* Palazzolo. Cluverius, taking upon himself to oppose the opinion of Fazzello, established it where, at this day, is the convent of St. Mary *of the Arc;* which, the better to sustain his own assumption with the resemblance of the name, he denominated arbitrarily, *of Arcia.* But Bonanni (*Siracusa Illustrata*, p. 190) refuted his error with the best reasons, and supported the opinion of Fazzello, which is now no longer doubted.

‡ Diod., *in Excerp.* ex lib. xxiii, 5: Συρακουσίων καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν πόλεων, Ἀκρῶν, κ.τ.λ.

§ Plin., *H. N.*, lib. iii.

prospect, to place the cavea in that direction which would afford the most delightful and cheerful landscape. Nor, indeed, could any one desire a better



Plan of the Theatre and Odeum of Acræ.*

site than that which the inhabitants of Acræ had selected for their theatre, inasmuch as it commands the fertile valleys and verdant hills of Acræ; and the majestic Etna, erecting its crest above the clouds, closes the picture.

"The theatre is divided by staircases into nine wedges (*cunei*), in each of which are comprised twelve rows of seats. There is no doubt, however, that the *cavea* of the Acrensian theatre possessed greater extent; for traces of some seats that are discernible all along, in the plane of the rock which is inclined from the south side, convert the conjecture into certainty. The edifice, of which the internal diameter does not exceed the measure of 63·5 Sicilian palmi,† presents no trace of an inclosure; the smallness of which attests that it was not necessarily made by chance. Moreover, there exist remains of the *pulpitum* and *proscenium*, in the front of which two niches are to be seen. On both sides of the *scena*, traces of two doors are still visible, by which, like those in the theatre of Pompeii, access was had to the *orchestra*. On the other side of the scena one there finds some places for preserving water and grain.

"On the west are to be seen, hollowed out in a great measure under the rock whereon the theatre is situated, the remains of another *smaller theatre*,

* Reduced from Serradifalco, vol. iv, pl. 32. A picturesque view of some architectural fragments, and of the theatre of Acræ, is given in vol. iv, pl. 31.

† But see my measurement *ante*, p. 242, and note †.

which every thing demonstrates to have been entirely covered. This is divided by two staircases into three wedges, or *cunei*, the seats of which were placed over. Upon the diameter of the *cavea* there exist, all along, the foundations of a rectangular building that is prolonged towards the south, where, at the end of the semicircle, are the remnants of stairs, by which one descended from the upper floor, where the theatre stood.

"It is known that ever since the time of Pericles, the Greeks had, besides the theatre, another sort of edifice, wherein poetz and musicians contended for the prize, and which bore the name of odeum,* from the use to which it was destined. Not yet, indeed, has any writer on this kind of edifice handed down to us a complete description of it; and Vitruvius himself, who minutely explains so many buildings of less importance, is silent respecting the rules for the proper construction of the *odea*. It is, therefore, our business to investigate what traces of them exist in the neglected passages of ancient writers.

"Pausanias, describing the monuments of Athens, says, 'before the entrance of that theatre which is called the *odeum*, are the statues of Egyptian kings'.† Accordingly, as his words denote, the form of the odeum was in a great degree similar to that of a theatre. And to strengthen the argument, a passage of Plutarch assists much, wherein, speaking of the odeum at Athens, it is related that there were seats in it,‡ exactly like those which are to be seen in a theatre. Finally, the scholiast of Aristophanes (in *Vespis*), does not permit of any further doubt on this subject, where he says, that 'an odeum is a place in the form of a theatre, in which poems used to be recited, previous to their being acted in a theatre'. In fact, all those who have preceded in these researches, have constantly affirmed that odea possessed a form like that of theatres, if not for the very same purpose for which they were at first designed, and they have argued that they were only *smaller theatres*.

"Vitruvius, treating of porticos and covered passages, that were usual behind the theatre, speaks incidentally of the odeum, which Pericles built in Athens, adding, that it was covered with the masts and sails of the Persian ships:—'et exeuntibus è theatro sinistrâ parte odeum, quod Athenis Pericles§ columnis

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* Suidas, v. ᾠδεῖον, says that this word was derived from Ὠδή, a *song*.

† Pausan., lib. i, c. 8, s. 6: Τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ὃ καλοῦσιν ᾠδεῖον, ἀνδριάντες πρὸ τῆς ἀφόδου βασιλέων εἰσὶν Αἰγυπτίων.

‡ Plutarch. *in Pericl.*

§ Dr. E. D. Clarke (in note 1, p. 254, chap. iv, vol. vi, 8vo. edit. of his Travels) considered that this account of Vitruvius "caused the odeum of Herodes to be confounded with the theatre" of Bacchus. He observes: "There were three different monuments which had received the name of odeum; one at the south-east angle of the citadel, which was the Odeum of Pericles; another at the south-west angle, which was the Odeum of Herodes Atticus; the

lapideis disposuit, naviumque malis, et antennis è spoliis Persicis pertexit';* and Plutarch remarks, that this covering was made for the entire height, because, as report said, it resembled the tent of Xerxes.† From this we learn that the odeum differed from a theatre, in being furnished with an awning or roof; nor could this have been otherwise, when we consider that a covering was convenient‡ for an edifice intended for the contentions of poets and musicians; so Vitruvius calls this to mind where he mentions the porticos and covered passages that were erected behind theatres, and lastly, that the small dimension of the odeum made it very easy to cover it with a roof.§ I must say, indeed, that there is no author who attributes a scena to the odea; and, in truth, from the purposes of this kind of edifice, it need not be argued for what the scena might have served, because the pulpit was alone sufficient, as poets and musicians made in it a trial of their power. Hence we must conclude, 1st, that the odeum had the form of a theatre; 2dly, that it differed from it in being furnished with a covering; 3rdly, that it wanted the scena, having only the pulpit; and 4thly, that being erected near a theatre, it might, with its porticos and covered passages, serve for shelter to those, who being present at the spectacle, might be surprised by showers.‖

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odeum mentioned by Pausanias, again, is considered as a third. The Abbé Barthelemy believed the *Pnyx* to have been called *Odeum* by Pausanias. The subject is, indeed, somewhat embarrassed."

* Vitruv., lib. v, c. 9. The same writer adds that this odeum having been burnt, was afterwards restored by Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia. This was destroyed by fire on the occasion of Athens being captured by Sulla, in the year 86 B.C., and was rebuilt by Ariobarzanes the second, between the years 63 and 50 B.C.

† Plutarch., *in Pericl.*

‡ And, indeed, necessary for the better retention of the sounds of the music and singing.

§ Plutarch says Pericles had a head like a *σχίνος, squill;* wherefore Cratinus, alluding to the conical figure of the roof of the odeum, thus ridiculed him:

> Ὁ σχινοκέφαλος Ζεὺς ὅδε προσέρχεται
> Περικλέης, τηλεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ κρανίου
> Ἔχων, ἐπειδὴ τοὐστρακον παροίκεται.
>
> (Plut. *in Pericl.* tom. i, p. 353.)

The *squill*, or *sea onion*, in Athenian vernacular dialect, was sometimes called *σχίνος*, instead of Σκίλλα (Dioscor., lib. ii, cap. 202), or Σκύλλα (Theoph., lib. vii, cap. 12). The large globoso-ovate bulb of this plant, abundant on the shores of the Mediterranean, "is frequently as big as a child's head". It is the *Scilla maritima* of Lin. (See fig. 918, vol. xxiii; Curtis's *Bot. Mag.*; and the author's memoir on the Classical Plants of Sicily, No. 141.

‖ Vitruv., l. c.

"Proceeding next to examine the Acrensian monument, it will be easily seen how all these circumstances concur, and quite agree in it; because it is clear that it is a little theatre, covered, in a great degree, by the same rock wherein it is excavated; deprived of the scena, but furnished with a pulpit; that being prolonged to the south it presents space enough for the construction of porticos; and lastly, adjoining to the theatre, with which, as we have observed, it could communicate by the staircase, of which there remain several steps. Hence then, without fear of mistake, we are able to esteem the identical edifice an *odeum*.

"But since the importance of this monument is considerable, it is necessary to take a view of those edifices, of the same kind, of which ancient writers have preserved the memory. The first odeum, of which any notice is left, is that which Pericles caused to be built* in Athens, wherein the choristers of the different tribes exercised.† This noble example was copied by many cities of Greece. Pausanius records the odeum of Corinth, near the fountain Pirene,‡ another at Smyrna, worthy of note for the famous picture by Apelles, representing the Graces,§ and finally, the odeum of Patræ; and there, by a digression, he alludes to that which, in his time, Herodes Atticus constructed in Athens, for the purpose of honouring his consort Regilla.‖

"Rome had similar monuments at a later period. Fabricius, in his description of Rome, interpreting erroneously a passage in the letters of Cicero to Atticus, supposes that in Rome even four odea¶ existed, though the learned allow but *two*;—viz., one built by Domitian,** and the other, which was erected when Trajan was emperor,†† by the celebrated architect Apollodorus.‡‡ Of these indeed the memory alone remains.

"Coming now to the examination of the existing monuments, we must first of all consider that the resemblance in form between theatres and odea was the

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* About the middle of the fifth century before Christ.

† To understand what importance the Greeks placed on these musical contests, it is well to remember the Choragic Monument that is seen in Athens, raised in honour of Lysicrates, on account of the victory which the tribe of Acamantis obtained in the contests of the Choruses, when Evænetus was archon. (B.C. 335.) See Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens*, vol. i, cap. iv, plate 23.

‡ Pausan., lib. ii, cap. 3, s. 6. § Ibid., lib. ix, cap. 35, s. 2.

‖ Ibid., lib. vii, cap. 20, s. 3. This author writes, "in memory of his deceased wife"; and see Dr. E. D. Clarke's account of what he calls the Odeum of Regilla. (*Travels*, vol. vi, p. 253, 8vo. edit.)

¶ Fabricius, *Descrip. Urbis Romæ*, c. 12, p. 510, apud Grævii, *Antiq. Rom.*, tom. iii.

** Sueton. *in Vit. Domit.*, c. 5. †† Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xvi, cap. 10.

‡‡ Xiphilin. lib. lxix, p. 336, tom. iv.

reason, as the eminent Quatremère de Quincy* has opportunely remarked, why artists and travellers have frequently confused the one with the other; and, perhaps, the same thing happened to Stuart,† when he gave the name of the Odeum of Regilla to the ruins of that vast theatre at Athens, which Spon and Wheeler esteemed the Areopagus, and which Dr. Chandler supposed to be the Pnyx;‡ and who, it seems, ought not to say the same of the little theatre of Laodicea, which some have judged to be a Greek odeum,§ and which Chandler ascribed to the time of the Romans.‖ The want of characteristic circumstances, therefore, wherein odea differed from theatres, is the real cause why the ablest men have held different opinions concerning those monuments which they have visited, omitting to detain themselves on the odeum of Pompeii, because it is Roman; and on the smaller theatre of Catania,¶ of which we shall say that it possibly might, in its day, have been an odeum, and of the Grecian, or Roman period as Millin** judged. So it does not seem that we have raised our hopes too highly by flattering ourselves that we have evidently demonstrated, in this Acrensian monument, the first distinct example of a Grecian odeum; because, until now, in it alone concur the conditions of being small, covered, deprived of the scene, and adjacent to the theatre."

The preceding accounts of the theatre and odeum,†† I have translated in full from the Italian of the Duke of Serradifalco, because of their great architectural interest. That of the latter especially, I consider to be the most complete of any on the same subject with which I am acquainted; indeed, in this

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* *Dict. d'Architect.* v. Odéon.

† *Antiq. Athen.*, iii, c. 8, p. 51; and see the former note § at p. 247 *ante*.

‡ *Travels in Greece.* See also Dr. E. D. Clarke's description of the Pnyx, *Travels*, vol. vi, chap. v, p. 299; 8vo. edition.

§ *Antiq. of Ionia*, ii, p. 32.

‖ So Millin thought of it; vide *Dict. des Beaux Arts*, v. Odéon.

¶ On the theatre of Catania, the memoir of the able architect, Musmeci (*Illustrazione dell' Odeo di Catania*, 1822) may be consulted with advantage.

** Millin, *Dict. des Beaux Arts.*

†† I may as well remind the reader of the *three* kinds of ancient edifices for spectacles and music:—1, the *theatre* (θέατρον) was the most ancient, and was used for *seeing* plays acted, or *spectacles*; 2, the *odeum* (ᾠδεῖον), was an edifice for *music* and *singing*,—and was so named from the Greek word, ᾠδὴ (*odè*), a song; 3, the *amphitheatre* (ἀμφιθέατρον), literally a *double theatre*, exactly resembled two theatres joined together at the diameters of their orchestras. It was the latest kind of building invented by the Romans, for spectacles, and in which the visitors could perfectly *see all around*.

country, I do not know any description of the ancient odeum so ample and instructive.*

In Messrs. Spratt and Forbes's *Travels in Lycia* (vol. ii), there is a plate representing the comparative sizes of some Lycian theatres, and of one odeum. The latter was discovered at Cibyra; and, with regard to its close position (about 100 yards) on the south of the theatre, it may be compared with that of the Acrensian structures. In the description of this odeum, the authors observe: "On the inner surface of the high wall or front connecting the two sides, are several *rows of small holes* pierced in the stones, as if for the purpose of hanging shields or trophies."† These holes, however, appear to me rather to have served for *rods*, or *cords*, for the purpose of supporting or fastening the tent-like *roof* or *covering* of the odeum. Another small odeum is shewn in the same work (vol. i, p. 1, letter F) as existing at Pinara, 86 feet in diameter, but this is large in comparison with the odeum at Acræ, which is the *smallest* of all such edifices that have, as far as I know, yet been discovered. The one nearest to it, which I have seen, is the "little theatre" at *Pompeii*, the internal diameter of the orchestra of which is about 23 feet; but this is owing to there being four rows of seats placed within the space usually reserved for the entire orchestra. The theatre in all other respects is very much larger than the odeum at Acræ; and this "little theatre" at Pompeii must, notwithstanding the different opinions of some travellers, be truly considered as an odeum; for in an inscription found there, and given in Sir Wm. Gell's *Pompeiana* (vol.

* For a comparative view of different Sicilian theatres, as well as of another odeum at Catania, which, in fact, nearly equals in size the theatre of Acræ, I will refer the reader to Serradifalco (vol. v, plate 44), and to Col. Leake's *Tour in Asia Minor* (p. 328), for the diameters of many Grecian theatres and of two odea. Also the student's attention should be directed to the same learned author's exposition (*ibid.* pp. 323-8) of Vitruvius's construction of the Roman theatre, and of the orchestra of the Greek theatre.

† Spratt and Forbes, vol. i, p. 256. See the plan of the ruins of Cibyra, by Capt. Spratt.

ii, p. 247), it is called "Theatrum *tectum*"; also, its immediate proximity to the real, or "great theatre", with which it communicated by a portico, clearly determines that it was so.*

Among the sepulchral monuments represented in the work by Serradifalco† is one of a somewhat pyramidal form, "crowned,"

Stela at Acræ.

as the duke writes, "by a Doric entablature with a dentilled cornice, and by a gable with angular antefixes. In the front of this monument, a large square case (shrine) is seen, in the bottom of which there is a hollow, which denotes the outline of an allusive statue of pottery,‡ which occupied it; and in the plain cornice of the case are to be seen two other small circular hollows that contained votive rings.

* See plate 73 in Gell's work, for a good view of the interior of this odeum; and for the plan of it, and scale on which it is drawn, consult *ibid.*, plate 64.

† Vol. iv, plate 33. The statue is shewn to a larger scale in the vignette, p. 156, No. 3.

‡ From these may have originated the small shrines with the figures of the Madonna, so common in Sicily, Italy, etc.

"This monument becomes a most important one, because it distinctly shews the use for which the frequent little Doric entablatures might have been intended, all designed after the like fashion, that have been discovered in Acræ;* as besides, it points out for what these statues of pottery might have served, which evidently represent portraits, and have been recovered at different times in Acræ."

But in further considering the use of these statues, or images, and ornaments, these questions have occurred to me: Can these statues have been designed for what many of the Greeks, and particularly the Athenians, called Ἑκαταια, little statues of Hecate, which were placed in small cells, in the public roads, and before the doors of their houses?—inasmuch as they were wont to esteem her the overseer of their families, and the protector of their children: consult Potter, *Arch. Græc.*, vol. i, p. 386. Or were they merely the images or portraits of deceased relatives or friends?

The rings were probably funereal, κόσμοι, ornaments: and the late Dr. E. D. Clarke has "stated that the sepulchral terra-cottas have sometimes the form of images." He likewise observes, that "the nature of the κόσμοι has never been explained; any more than that of the νεκρίων ἀγάλματα (Eurip. *in Alc.*, v. 612), said to be carried by those who followed the corpse; by some translated *imagines;* by others, *grata munera.*" Fine pottery, or "pure clay, was an offering to the gods."†

In the neighbourhood of Acræ are several remarkable figures in *alto-rilievo*, executed in the natural rock, and which, though long known to the traveller, have not yet been sufficiently studied by the antiquary. M. J. Houel, so long ago as 1785, engraved in the third volume of his *Voyage Pittoresque en Sicile*,‡ some of these sculptures; he supposed them to be allegorical figures, but did not attempt any explanation of them.

* Serradifalco, vol. iv, pl. 34, gives some architectural fragments also of the Doric order.

† Clarke's *Travels*, vol. vi, p. 464, 4th edition, 8vo.

‡ They are also shown in Serradifalco, plate 35.

The place where they are to be seen is commonly named by the Sicilians, La Cuntrata del Santicedda, "the street of the holy cell", which is a small hill near the mount of the ancient Acræ. At the base of this hill, and in the natural stone, are cut in high relief many well-executed figures of good design, which the common people have called *Santuni*, *i.e.*, the "Great Saints".

Houel writes: "If these sculptures have been made in the time of Hiero II, when his palace occupied the summit of the hill, of which they ornament the foot, they may have pertained to a temple of the infernal gods, or to some monuments of the dead."* And Sir R. C. Hoare, who travelled in Sicily in 1790, says,† in "Acre Monte, I was shewn a subterraneous passage, said to belong to a palace‡ of king Hiero; and was informed that a Greek inscription, with the words Βασιλεὺς Ἱερων, had been used by the Dominicans in some building. In a small valley beneath, and near a spring which issues from a cavity in the rock, are some fragments of antiquity, which deserve notice for their singularity. They are unlike any others in Sicily, and seem peculiar to this district. In niches formed in the rock are figures cut in basso-rilievo. The principal is a female, the size of life, and it is often surrounded with others of smaller dimensions. Most of them bear crowns, similar to those usually given to the goddess Cybele.§ I could discover no traces of any inscription. These sculptures have suffered much from inattention: the forms of several are distinguished with the

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* *Voy. Pitt.*, iii, 114.

† *Classical Tour*, vol. ii (2nd edition), p. 305.

‡ From the supposed ruins of this *palace*, or *arx*, the modern name of *Acre*, or *Palazzolo*, has very probably been taken; indeed, Biscari has actually termed it *Palazzo*. (See *ante*, p. 239, and note §, at p. 238.)

§ This is a mistake, for the crown is not a *mural* one, or consisting of *turrets*, such as is assigned to Cybele, but the simple *modius*, or corn measure. That goddess also was generally accompanied by a lion, and *not* a dog. (See Tassie's *Gems*, vol. ii, plate 16, No. 800.) Capt. Smyth, in his work on Sicily, has continued the same error.

greatest difficulty, and all the faces are totally destroyed. They have been little noticed by travellers, and no one has attempted to explain their use or signification."

Some of the subjects so represented in the hard rock, allude, I have no doubt, to certain funereal rites, or were intended as sepulchral honours to deceased friends, who have been very likely interred in the neighbouring catacombs or necropolis. The most remarkable figure in nearly all these niches is a colossal female, often sitting down, covered with a long garment, and bearing on her head the *modius*, corn measure, or bushel ornament.

These reliefs contain nine principal, and several smaller groups, disposed in two rows, with some partly-effaced little niches, whose figures have either fallen out, or been removed. In all of them the same large figure of a female, clothed with long drapery, and crowned with the modius, occurs; and behind her are to be seen children, or little human figures, in different postures.

In the second large relief on the left of Serradifalco's upper row, in fig. 2, pl. 35, which is the same as Houel's third bas-relief, pl. 198, the colossal female is standing, and placing her right hand, as if in approbation or protection, upon the head of a little girl, and pressing with her left the right hand of Mercury, who holds the caduceus in his left hand. A dog,* between them, is turned towards the female; and some other figures, with a man upon a horse on each side, complete the tablet.

The Duke of Serradifalco supposes this colossal female to signify Isis, and the dog represented at her feet to be Cerberus. In answer to the latter, I must observe that, as the dog there sculptured bears only one head, I cannot think that it was meant for Cerberus; and instead of the former, or Isis, I conceive it more likely that the female was intended for Hecate.

In considering the greater probability of this large and dig-

* See note §, p. 249.

nified female figure having been executed at an earlier period than that in which the worship of Isis prevailed, and therefore meant for the goddess Hecate, it will be here unnecessary to discuss whether or not Libera, Cora, Proserpine, or the Grecian Persephone, or Ceres, or the Grecian Demeter, or Luna, Diana, or the Grecian Artemis, or the Egyptian Isis, are identical with Hecate, or merely different attributes and personifications of the same mystical goddess, or totally distinct and separate deities. It will be enough for my view of the subject to regard Hecate as a divine personage, more plainly delineated in the mythology of the earlier writers.

Cicero states distinctly that the whole of Sicily was dedicated to Ceres and Proserpine,—"Vetus est hæc opinio quæ constat ex antiquissimis Græcorum literis atque monumentis, insulam Siciliam totam esse Cereri et Liberæ consecratam".* And Pindar had long before narrated that Sicily was the portion of Proserpine:†

Σπεῖρε νυν ἀγλαΐαν τινὰ νάσῳ,
Τὰν Ὀλύμπου δεσπόται
Ζεὺς ἔδωκεν Φερσεφόνᾳ· κατένευ-
σέν τέ οἱ χαίταις, ἀρι-
στεύοισαν ἐυκάρπου χθονὸς
Σικελίαν πίσειραν ὀρθώ-
σειν κορυφαῖς πολίων ἀφνειαῖς.

"Now to the isle some tribute raise,
Which Jove, Olympus' sovereign lord,
Pledged with a nod his sacred word,
(When to *Persephone's* command
Was given Sicilia's fertile land)
To gild with wealthy cities' towering praise."‡

Also the scene of the well known and beautiful tale of Cora or

* *In Verrem*, Act. ii, lib. iv, cap. 48.

† Pind., *Nem.* i, v. 16-22. The Scholiast, on this passage, says, Jupiter gave the whole of Sicily to Proserpine, as a portion on her marriage with Pluto, and observes that the entire island was (ἐξ ἀρχῆς) under the rule of Ceres and Proserpine.

‡ Rev. C. A. Wheelwright's *Transl. Pind.*, First Nem., Ode v, 15-20.

Proserpine, the daughter of Ceres, having been carried off by Pluto, was laid, by some ancient authors, in the meadows—

"Of Enna, where Proserpine gathering flowers,
Herself a fairer flow'r, by gloomy Dis
Was gather'd",*—

to the north-west of Acræ; and it is related that the transparent and deep fountain of Cyane, near Syracuse, issued forth from the place where Pluto descended with her into his realm below.† On this occurrence, Hecate, a daughter of Jupiter and Ceres, was sent by the former to seek for Proserpine. Moreover, Homer, in his hymn to Ceres, says that Hecate and Apollo (Helios)‡ witnessed from her cavern the carrying away of Proserpine, and also heard her cries; that, after Ceres had wandered for nine days, she met, on the tenth day, Hecate, who, with a lighted torch in her hand, accompanied her mother in searching for Proserpine; and, that after they had discovered her, Hecate, remaining with Proserpine—then the queen—was instituted a goddess of the infernal regions. Afterwards she ruled over, and wandered about with, the souls of the dead, and became the chief deity of purifications, and was usually followed by Stygian dogs. Her appearance was made known by their howlings;§ and the same animals formed part of the sacrificial offerings to her,—wherefore Lycophron has termed her συνόφαγη, the "devourer of dogs". And so the Sicilian poet very appropriately invokes this mighty divinity, of whom a more ancient bard (Hesiod) states (*Theog.* v, 415):

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* Milton, *Par. Lost*, iv, 269.

† Vide Cicero, *in Verrem*, lib. iv, cap. 48; Diodor. Sic., lib. v, c. 3, 4, 5; Ovid, *Met.*, lib. v, v. 385-437; *Fast.*, lib. iv, v. 422, etc.

‡ Hom., *Hymn. in Cer.*, v. 25, 26, etc., Lips. 1787; and also see Rev. R. Hole's translation into English verse. Lond. 1781.

§ ——— "Visæque canes ululare per umbram,
Adventante Deâ".— (Virg., *Æn.* vi, 257.)

"And howling dogs in glimmering light advance,
Ere Hecate came".— (Dryden, *Virg. Æn.* vi, 367.)

*Ἀθανάτοις τε θεοῖσι τετιμένη ἐστὶ μάλιστα.**

——— Ἀλλὰ Σελάνα
Φαῖνε καλὸν· τὶν γὰρ ποταείσομαι ἄσυχα δαῖμον,
Τᾷ χθονίᾳ θ' Ἑκάτᾳ, τὰν ἀι σκύλακες τρομέοντι
Ἐρχομέναν νεκύων ἀνά τ' ἠρία καὶ μέλαν αἷμα.
Χαῖρ' Ἑκάτα δασπλῆτι, καὶ ἐν τέλος ἄμμιν ὀπήδει.

——— "O queen of night,
Pale moon! assist me with refulgent light;
My imprecations I address to thee,
Great goddess, and infernal Hecatè,
Stain'd with black gore, whom ev'n gaunt mastiffs dread,
Whene'er she haunts the mansions of the dead:
Hail, horrid Hecatè! and aid me still."†

The presence, then, of a dog in several of the Acrensian rock-reliefs, will tend to confirm my supposition that Hecate is the large figure there sculptured; and, as the mighty ruler over the souls of the dead, conducted by the god Mercury (Hermes Psychagogos), she would be a proper deity to be thus introduced into sepulchral memorials to departed friends, by their survivors, and in the immediate vicinity of the necropolis of the city.

Hesiod further describes Hecate as affording victory and fame to warriors, assisting horsemen, and superintending the birth and nurture of children, *κουροτρόφον*.‡ Hence it appears that the small human figures in the sculpture (fig. 2, upper row of Serradifalco, already described) are intended for children, whom that goddess was wont to protect, and the men on horseback, travellers, or more likely warriors, to whom she had rendered assistance, or granted the rewards of victory:

Ἐσθλὴ δ' ἱππήεσσι παρεστάμεν, οἷς κ' ἐθέλῃσι.

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* So Virgil, *Æn.* vi, 247,—

"Voce vocans Hecaten, cœloque Ereboque potentem".

† Theocr., *Idyl.* ii, v. 10-14; and F. Fawkes's *Trans. of Theocritus*, idyl. ii, v. 11-17. This Greek poet, being a native of Syracuse, is most likely to have given a true, though a poetical, account of the invocation or worship of Hecate, as practised in his time in that part of Sicily.

‡ Hesiod., *Theogonia*, vv. 431-52.

Some, perhaps, may be inclined to hold that, as this large sculptured female is not a triple figure, it cannot represent the goddess Hecate; but I must remind them that we learn from Pausanias that the more ancient and original figure of this goddess had only one face and one body; and that Alcamenes was the first (about 440 B.C.) who made a triple statue of Hecate with three bodies joined together.*

In connexion with a portion of the preceding mythological narrative, I may mention that, as there was a famous temple dedicated to Ceres and Proserpine in the parent city of Syracuse;† or as, according to Cicero, there were, in the quarter of Syracuse called Neapolis, two celebrated temples, one of Ceres, and another of Proserpine,‡—so at Acræ, the daughter-city, it is known from inscriptions that a temple to each of those goddesses once existed.

These facts, then, will go to prove that the rare Acræan coin I am now about to describe, bears further reference to the same myth respecting Ceres and Proserpine.§ The Duke of Serradi-

falco does not describe this coin; but the Prince of Torremuzza (Castello)‖ thus notices it: "This coin was first published by

* Ὁμοίων ἓν πρόσωπόν τε, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σῶμα. Ἀλκαμένης δὲ (δμοὶ δοκεῖν) πρῶτος ἀγάλματα Ἑκάτης τρία ἐποίησε προσεχόμενα ἀλλήλοιν. (Pausan., *Corinth.* p. 72, edit. Francof. 1583.) For a gem representing this mystical triple figure of the later Hecate, crowned with three modii, see No. 2053, pl. 29, vol. ii, Tassie's Catalogue of Gems, by Raspe.

† Vide Plutarch, *in Vit. Dion.* cap. 56; and Plutarch's *Lives*, vol. vi, p. 52, edit. Tonson, 1758.

‡ Cicero, *in Verrem*, Act. ii, lib. iv, cap. 53.

§ See Serradifalco, vol. iv, vignette, p. 156, No. 1; and Castello, *Sic. Vet. Num.*, tab. ii.

‖ *Siciliæ Veteres Nummi*, Panorm. 1781, p. 4.

Haym in *Thesaur. Brit.;* and because he read the word AKAION upon it, he referred it to *Ace*, in Syria. Pellerin (*Recueil de Médail.*, vol. iii, p. 98) more fortunately observing the abbreviation, KP, restored it to Acræ in Sicily". On examining Haym's *Tesoro Britannico* (vol. ii, p. 85, Lond. 1720), the figure there given of a brass coin seemed to me to differ much from that represented by Torremuzza and Serradifalco. Haym calls it a coin of the *Achei*, the inhabitants of the town of *Acaja*, referring to the *Achaia* of Cellarius, in Syria. Now this Syrian town is properly termed *Ache*, (*Accho*, Ἀκχώ, in the Septuagint, Judg. i, 31), more commonly *Ace*, Ακη; and still called by the natives, *Akka*, or by foreigners, *Acre*.

Haym has described it thus: "The head of Ceres: *reverse*, figure of a woman standing, with a sceptre in her left, and a cornucopia in her right, hand; AKAION, *Achæorum*". But Pellerin,* I find, happily rectified Haym's error, and more correctly read the legend, AKPAION, of the *Acræans*,—the second letter, R being a monogram for K and P. His plate (108, fig. 6) exhibits the coin as much more like Torremuzza's and Serradifalco's copies; and he states,—"thus it belongs to the city of *Acræ* in Sicily, of which there have been no medals published".

Torremuzza, eighteen years afterwards, thus described the same very rare coin: "Head of Ceres, crowned with ears of wheat; and in *reverse*, Ceres herself stands, bearing torches in both hands." But it is remarkable that his description does not agree with the engraving of the reverse of this coin, where Ceres is standing, and carries a burning torch in her left hand, and a *distaff* in her right. The learned Sicilian then notices the rhomboidal shape of the Ω in the legend, and says it is common in the inscriptions of Sicily. One of these I will refer to, namely an ancient epigraph bearing the name of the Segestans, in my paper on the Temple of Segesta, in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* (Second Series), vol. ii, p. 204.

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* *Recueil de Médailles de Peuples*, vol. iii, p. 98, Par. 1763.

This will strengthen the idea that the coin was really of Sicilian workmanship, which, as it is not known to have been discovered in Acræ, or even in Sicily, may, to some, seem doubtful; and I may mention, in further corroboration of this, that Baron Judica showed me, at Palazzolo, an inscription, ARΩN (meaning AKPΩN), "of Acræ", where the identical monogram, R for K and P, was also quite distinct. Indeed, we find the same word, Ἀκρῶν, the genitive case plural of Ἀκραι, in Diodorus Siculus, *Fragm.*, lib. 23, col. v, p. 501.

To me, however, it appears that the head on the obverse of the coin is not that of Ceres, because it wears a *pileus*, or man's hat,* which is not characteristic of a woman, neither is the face sufficiently feminine; but I think, most likely, that it is intended for the head of Triptolemus when a youth.† I would therefore describe the coin thus: *Obv.*, head, in profile, of Triptolemus, wearing a pileus ornamented with ears of wheat: *rev.*, Ceres standing, with her long drapery open‡ in the upper part, and bearing a lighted torch in her left, and a distaff in her right hand; *legend*, ARAIΩN, "of the Acræans".

The head of Ceres, I may remark, is common on Sicilian coins, and particularly on those of Enna. Many of the latter are figured in Torremuzza's work (plate 28), in all of which the head of that goddess is without a pileus, and the countenance is more feminine. Cicero also writes, that at Enna, before the Temple of Ceres, were two most beautiful and very large statues,—one of Ceres, and the other of Triptolemus.§ Hence, in the neighbouring district of Enna, Triptolemus was asso-

* See a figure of Apollo, with the *pileus* hung from his shoulders, No. 72, Worlidge's *Gems*.

† Virgil calls Triptolemus "uncique *puer* monstrator aratri." (Georg. i, 19.) The manner in which the hair is represented, below the pileus, on that coin, resembles that on the head of Antinous, No. 55, Worlidge's *Gems*.

‡ The drapery open in front, or half falling, is perhaps intended to signify her constant travelling in search of Proserpine.

§ Cicero, *in Verrem*, Act ii, lib. iv, cap. 49.

ciated with Ceres; and the same occurs in some antique Grecian coins.* One only I will point out, which is a handsome brass coin of Athens, and represented in Haym, vol. i, p. 179, No. 31. There the head of Ceres is quite feminine; and the *reverse* presents Triptolemus in a car drawn by two winged serpents, or dragons, and holding in his right hand two ears of wheat; consequently, this rare and interesting coin of Acræ clearly refers to the fable of Ceres and Proserpine; for after Ceres and Hecate had gone, with torches lighted from the fires of Etna, to seek for Proserpine, Ceres, arriving at Eleusis, was hospitably received by the father of Triptolemus; and, in return for this kindness, she taught the latter, then a youth, the triple arts of ploughing, sowing, and reaping, and lent him her chariot drawn by dragons, to go through the air, and teach those arts to mankind.†

So then, in a city where there existed temples to Ceres and Proserpine,‡ and in which, doubtless, the sacred mysteries of the Thesmophoria§ were duly celebrated,—as in the metropolis, Syracuse,‖—and where such remarkable sculptures, allusive, as I conceive, to the rites of Hecate and her authority over the souls of the dead, are still remaining,—it is not surprising to find the coins of that city impressed with the representations of Ceres and Triptolemus, as a part of, and in connexion with, the same favourite myth and worship.

JOHN HOGG.

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* Also in ancient gems; see No. 1889, plate 27, vol. ii, Tassie's *Gems*.

† Vide Callim. *Hymn. in Cerer.*, v. 22; Virg., *Georg.* i, v. 19; Ovid. *Met.*, v. 642-60; et *Fast.* iv, 559.

‡ See note †, *ante*, p. 238.

§ Triptolemus is said to have instituted this festival.

‖ Plutarch, *in Dion.*, c. 27; and *Athen.* xiv, 647.

XV.

ON THE ANTIQUITIES OF CANDIA,

No. I.

"LA DESCRIZIONE DELL' ISOLA DI CANDIA".

A MS. OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Κρήτη τιμήεσσα, Διὸς μεγάλοιο τιθήνη.—*Dion. Perieg.* v. 501.

IN the library of the Marciana, at Venice, are a variety of reports addressed to the Serene Republic by the Proveditori of their distant possessions, furnishing an account of the countries subject to their charge. Among these are several relating to the island of Candia, some of which contain notices, at more or less length, of its antiquities. These notices I have deemed may be acceptable to the readers of the *Museum*, and I propose on this occasion to direct their attention to a MS. containing a General Description of the Antiquities of the Island; and in the next number, to lay before them another MS., giving a more detailed account of some of the individual monuments.

It is remarkable, that although the original MS. of the subject we are now about to consider is lost to us, copies, more or less perfect, exist in many libraries. These it has been my study to examine and collate, supplying the deficiencies of some, and correcting the inaccuracies of others, so as to restore, as nearly as possible, the entirety of the original matter, so far as relates to the antiquities of the island. On a map of Candia, contained in Class vi., Cod. 188, there is the same title—"Descrizione dell' Isola di Candia", accompanied with the date 1538. We may therefore conclude that the work before us was written in that year. The MS. begins, "L'Isola di

Candia ha forma molta più lunga che largha"; and goes on to describe the geography, natural history, antiquities, ancient and modern history, statistics, and the military resources of the country; and the copies contain more or less of these chapters, according to the object or pleasure of the writers. Of these transcripts there are in the Marciana no less than nine which relate to the antiquities of the island. Another, and apparently a more complete copy, formed part of the Donati collection, and is frequently cited by Torres.* Two other copies are referred to by the same writer, as existing in the Laurentian and Ambrosian† libraries, but I did not succeed in finding either. The codices I have been able to find are thus indicated:—

1.	*Bibl. Marc.*	Class VII.	Cod.	363.	. . . .	*post* 1583
2.	———	.	——	569.	By Benetto Gatto .	— —
3.	———	. — XI.	——	6.	. . . . .	1588
4.	———	. — VII.	——	214.	By Leonardo Quirini .	1587
5.	———	. — IV.	——	181.	. . . . .	1595
6.	———	. — Q.	——	2.		
7.	———	. — VI.	——	286.		
8.	———	. — —	——	287.		
9.	———	. — Q.	——	2.	By Marin Cavalli . .	1576
10.	*Bib. Reg. Paris.*		——	10181.	By Francesco Barozzi .	1577
11.	———	. (Sup. Fr.)	——	1763.	. . . . *post*	1577
12.	———	. (Miss. Etr.)	——	221.	By Leonardo Quirini .	
13.	*Bib. Vat. Urbin.*		——	1032.	——————— .	1587
14.	— *Mus. Brit.*	(Addit.)	——	8639.	——————— .	——
15.	— *Vat. Ottob.*		——	2604.	Addressed to Principe Pietro Zane, Cap. Gen., and therefore, probably by Leonardo Quirini.	
16.	— *Trin. Coll. Cant.*	B. IV.	——	6.	———————	
17.	— *Sem. Venet.*	ss. XIII.	——	11.	By Del Discorso . .	1590
18.	———	——	——	12.	By Gio. Ant. Muazzo .	1670

* *Fragmenta Antiquitatum Cretensium.* By the Abate Torres y Ribera, a Jesuit, who, dying before the work was completed, his publisher sold it as waste paper; so that only four copies are said to exist.

† The catalogue of manuscripts in this library is in slips, and is not shewn to any one; which is the more to be regretted, as it is believed to contain unpublished treasures of great value.

Other MSS., not seen, are:

19. Bibl. Barberina. *Relationi e lettere del Viaggio in Candia* del Sig. Fra Vincenzo Rospigliosi, nel 1669.
20. — Ambrosiana Mediol. *Relatione di Candia.*
21. — ——— *Viaggio a Candia,* di Giulio Tomilano.
22. — Publique de Mejanes à Aix. *Recueil de mémoires et voyages en Hongrie, Candie,* etc.
23. — De l'Arsenal, Paris. *Voyage du Levant* (3 tomes), par Louis Chevalier, en 1699.

MSS. quoted by Torres y Ribera, *Periplus Cretæ*, cap. ix, p. 30-32:

24. *Relazione di Candia,* dal Marchese Ann. Gonzago. 1599.
25. ——— Co. Onorio Scotti.
26. ——— Marchese Villa.
27. ——— Mocenigo Zuane. 1597.
28. ——— Gritti Zuane, or Garzoni. 1582.
29. ——— Marin Cavalli. 1571.
30. ——— Pietro Calerghi.
31. ——— Dolphin Venier. 1611.
32. *Delle antichità del regno di Creta.* Don Fortunato Olmo.*

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* No. 1 bears no date, but it appears to have been written during the office of the Proveditor-General, Giacomo Foscarini, but subsequently to 1583, for it gives the inscription excavated by Belli, at Lappa, in that year. It is in a clear, neat hand-writing, and is fortunately the best preserved.

No. 2 has no date, but it refers to the said Giacomo Foscarini as being formerly Proveditor-Generale, and is therefore subsequent in date to No. 1. It is nearly as complete, but is written in a loose irregular hand.

No. 3, although the next most perfect, contains only about one-fifth of the former MS. It is in a fair handwriting.

No. 4 has many omissions, and terminates abruptly.

No. 5 has the following memorandum at the end:—"This description was written in the year 1595, when there still remained some vestiges of the plague."

No. 6 is preceded by an original chapter on the products and manufactures of the country. It has an index at the end, and the contents of every page are written in the margin.

Nos. 7 and 8 are confined to the description of the natural objects, as the grottoes and cascades.

No. 9 treats of the antiquities very superficially.

Nos. 10 and 11 rank third and fourth in importance. The inscriptions are given in Italian, but the originals are suppressed.

Before entering upon the investigation of the antiquities, it may be useful to give the following preliminary remarks on the character of the country, drawn in great measure from a MS. history of Candia, written in 1550, and marked Class vi, Cod. 155 of the Marciana.

"The present name of the island is derived from the modern capital, the city of Candia, which occupies the site of Chandace, the port of Gnossus, the ancient capital of Creta. The primitive name, by which the country was known, was *Aeria*, which was given to it on account of the temperature and salubrity of the air, and from the fertility and abundance which reigned in the island. It is, indeed, most temperate, insomuch that the inhabitants have much less need of medicine than in other countries, and consequently live to a great age, occasionally to one hundred and twenty and one hundred and thirty, and the author affirms having seen one, who, by his baptismal records, proved himself to be one hundred and thirty-four, and was then in possession of all his faculties.

"The country is very hilly, and has few plains; most of the mountains are rough and rugged, but Mount Ida,* which is in the centre of the island, and some others, are verdant and fruitful. Such, however, is the fecundity of the soil, that it bears crops almost without the aid of the plough. But little corn is grown, the chief attention being given to the culture of the vine, which, in this island, produces wines of the finest quality, among which are the Muscatelle and the Tyrian, with red and white wines. But the most celebrated wine grown here is the Malvasia. It is produced from one particular grape, and if others of a different quality are mixed with it, even in small quantities, it is said to lose its taste and virtue; for which reason it is called *monovasia*. The vine is small and low, and the leaves different from all others, resembling those of a plantain tree. It flourishes only in this island, and if transplanted elsewhere it loses its peculiar property. It bears but few grapes, but the wine is white and brilliant, and when kept, acquires such force that at ten years old it burns like oil. It does not grow in all parts of the island, and it is produced in such small quantities, that scarcely ten amphoræ a year are made. It thus becomes of great value, and the chief part is consecrated for the sick and in-

* The Mount Ida here referred to, so celebrated as the place of concealment of the infant Jupiter, is about forty miles in length, and composed of a congeries of hills terminating in three lofty peaks. All the animals on this mountain have the mouth and teeth of a gold colour, as if gilt,—a circumstance owing to the peculiar nature of the herb *lunaria*, which covers the mountain. The opposite side of the mountain, or that which looks down upon the Plain of Messarea, is covered with beautiful cypresses, pines, and junipers.

firm. It is never exported: the wine sent to other countries under this name being produced from the ordinary grape of the island, differing from real malvasia in colour, taste, and smell.

"Oranges, lemons, pomegranates, and all other fruits, are produced in the greatest abundance, and are sold at the vilest prices. The gardens are rich and beautiful, and adorned with many plants unknown in other countries. Great part of the island is clothed with wood, chiefly composed of cypress, cedar, and fir. The cypresses are most abundant, being so thick that a few years before the author's arrival, a forest of them ignited, and burnt for four years before the flames were exhausted. Olive trees are plentiful, and Tournefort remarks that they grow high up among the mountains, where the temperature is colder than in many other countries where the olive will not grow. The hills and valleys afford pasture to countless flocks, the wool of which is extremely delicate, and the milk abundant, so that a prodigious quantity of cheese is annually made. The cattle are fine, and the horses proverbially celebrated, even amongst the ancients. The island abounds with wild fowl. There is but little fish, except at Spinalonga, Mirabello, Gerapetra, Settia, and the Porto di Suda, where it is very delicate, and in season throughout the year. Sharks and sword-fish are, however, very common. Among medicinal herbs are Asimos, Parnaces, and the only genuine Dictamnus.* (See Virgil, *Æneid*, xii). Nard and honey are produced in large quantities, and another plant peculiar to this country is *Alimos*, the chewing of which is said to abate hunger. The island produces few noxious animals, and scorpions, notwithstanding the assertion of Erasmus, are extremely rare. The tarantula is somewhat common, and its bite venomous, though not mortal. The men are of middle stature and rather stout, of a swarthy colour, and wide shouldered. The women are most beautiful, and their eyes possess a fascinating power (extrema vaghezza)."

We will now return to the antiquities of the island, the work on which is written with great care, the inscriptions being given in majuscule, in cursive Greek, in Latin verse and prose, and in Italian verse and prose, except when the original Greek is not in verse. In Cod. No. 1 the Latin and Italian translations only are given; and in No. 2, merely the Italian. I have restored the Greek, wherever I could find it, from the inscriptions copied in this island by Onorio Belli. [The subject of the original MS. is printed in large, the new matter in smaller type.]

The island of Creta, in the flourishing days of Grecian his-

* *Origanum.*

tory, had a hundred cities, as narrated by Stephanus, Ptolemy, Strabo, and other authors.

"Centum urbes habitant magnas uberrima regna."*

These cities were destroyed by the Romans under Quintus Metellus, who, as we are informed by Livy, received the name of Creticus from the event. The ruins of many of these cities are considerable, and others may yet be traced in different parts of the island, the principal of which I will now take occasion to refer to.†

SAMMONIUM.

[The Sammonium Promontory is the north-eastern extremity of the island, and therefore the most fitting place from whence to commence our inquiries. It has a harbour on its eastern side, called the Porto Hag. Joannis, close to which are some Hellenic foundations, probably of the temple of Minerva‡ *Sammonia*.§ Here we are opportunely reminded that it was in rounding this cape that St. Paul's first "difficulty" and danger occurred in his passage by this island. The dangerous character of the foreland, with the conflicting currents of the Sidonian or Phœnician, and the African seas, are well described by Dionysius Periegetes. (*De situ orbis*, 109-119).]

GRAMMION, *sive* SERAPOLIS.

Some few ruins of this once famous city may be traced at *Eremopolis;* many of the foundations can be discerned beneath the sea.

Palæokastron

is a most spacious and secure harbour, on the eastern coast of the island. Among the ruins of the city are walls, mosaic pavements, columns, statues, etc.‖

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* *Æneid* iii, 106.

† The order of places in the "Description" is as follows: Hierapytna, Matalia, Gortyna, Gnossus, Grotto of Pediadha, Lyctus, Dictæa, Chersonessus, Oaxos, Eleucterna, Lampe, Minoa (Aptera), Cydonia (Dictynnæum), and Cisamus. That these places may be more easily referred to on the map, I have arranged them according to their position, from east to west; and have interspersed the text with notices, in a smaller type, of ruins described by other authors.

‡ Capt. Spratt, *Admiralty Chart.* § *Stad. Magni Maris*, Cretæ Perip.

‖ MS. No. 11, p. 76.

AMPELUS.

[A Hellenic ruin is shown at this place (Capo Xacro) on the Admiralty chart.*

ARADUS, *Insula.*

On the island *Cufonissa*, which I suppose to be Aradus, Capt. Spratt shows the "ruins of a Roman town" on its northern shore, with a line of cisterns and conduits towards the centre of the island. On the south side he designates "Hellenic foundations and a statue."†

Petra.

At this place, some "Cyclopean walls" are shown on the Admiralty chart.]

PRAESOS.

From Mionnet.

In the British Museum.

This city still retains its name. It is situated eight miles south of *Settia*, on the slopes of Mount Dicta. Its ruins are seen on a hill, comprising many houses, and other edifices, columns, and slabs of marble.‡

[It contained a temple to Jupiter *Dictæus*.§]

ASUS.

The ruins of this town may be discerned at *Leopetro*, on a mountain on the north coast, the face of which towards the sea is very bold and rocky, so that its ascent is only practicable from the land side.

[A most ancient temple to Jupiter *Asius* existed here.‖ The town is placed by Pliny among the inland cities.]

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* Capt. Spratt, *Admiralty Chart*, 1851. † *Id.*

‡ On the slopes of Mount Dicta, towards Settia, Bondelmonte observed two ancient sites, which he attributed to Camara and Olus. Some marble ruins existed at the former place; and the latter city he describes as a very strong fortress, high up among the mountains. (Cornelius, *Creta Sacra*, i, 12.)

§ Strabo, p. 475, lib. x; Chishull, *Antiq., Asiat.*, p. 133.

‖ Steph. Byz., *sub voce.*

ALLARIA

In the British Museum.

was situated fifteen miles south of *Settia* at *Monte-forte*, a rocky mountain, difficult of access, if not impassable, except by one road. There are some vestiges of ancient buildings and cisterns.

[We learn from the inscriptions at Teos that Apollo was the tutelar deity of this city.*]

DICTÆA.

On the eastern, or opposite side of the mountain to Lyctus, are the remains of the ancient and famous city of Dictamnus, or Dictæa, of which Ariosto makes mention in the 20th canto:—

"Fra cento alme città ch'erano in Creta
Dittea più ricca, e più piacevol era."

Here was found, in 1567, a block of marble of a quadrangular form, covered with the most beautiful arabesques. On another block was a Greek inscription, to the following effect. These marbles have been removed to the garden of Messer Marco Corno Brogognosi, in the town of Dianaide:—

"Imperatorem Cesarem Divi Trajani Parthici filium Divi Nervæ nepotem Trajanum Augustum Pontificem Maximum tribunitiæ potestatis septimium consulem libros (*sic*) civitas per protocosmium Surnium Diotelem Gylium."†

Fountain of Diana Dictæa.

This wonderful fountain is to be seen at nearly 100 stadia distance from Hierapytna, on the lower slopes of Mount

* Chishull, *Antiq. Asiat.*, p. 138.

† The original is not given, and the inscription is believed to be unpublished.

Dictæus, towards the northern coast. It consists of a basin nearly 30 cubits in diameter, approached by a narrow winding ravine, the bottom of which is obstructed by large masses of rock, which have fallen from the cliffs above. Between these runs the water which flows from the basin within. At the further extremity, a cascade falls into the pool, filling the ears with a murmuring sound; while the sun, shining upon the spray, presents the eye with all the varied colours of the iris. But what is most wonderful, there are not wanting country people, and even priests, who, deceived by the dancing spray and rainbow, affirm to have seen Diana herself, with her beauteous nymphs, having laid aside their white garments, bathing in the waters, and diving down beneath the spray.*

OLERUS.

Olerus was situated on the top of a mountain: it is now called *Castel Messeleris*.

[It possessed a temple of Minerva, hence called *Oleria*.†]

HIERAPYTNA.‡

At *Castel Gerapetra*, at the eastern extremity of the southern coast, we find an infinitude of columns and slabs of different coloured marbles, huge fragments of stone and marble, and a host of statues of different sizes,§ among which was excavated the colossal statue of marble, without head and right arm, which was placed as an ornament to the fountain of St. Salvadore in the city of Candia, by Gio. Mat. Bembo, Cap.-Gen. of Candia, in 1558. Many of these remains have been dug up

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* "Qui, nostra ætate, Dianam ipsam suis cumque candentibus Nymphis, albis depositis vestibus, nudas abluentes, quandoque vitreo ipso sub gurgite demergere vidisse testantur."—Cod. No. 5237, *Bibl. Vat.*

† Eustath., *Iliad* β; Chishull, *Antiq. Asiat.*; Zenion, apud Steph. Byz.

‡ From the position of this town, and the distribution of its buildings, it must have presented a most beautiful appearance. It was situated on the coast, opposite to which is the gulf of *Pacchia Acro*.—MS. *Bibl. Marc.*, vi, 286.

§ Sed longè tamen pluris præstat opus.—Torres, *Creta Periplus*, p. 272.

and removed by the Rettori, and others are daily carried away by the same authorities; so that if only from the numerous sculptures removed and those still existing, we might feel assured that some great and famous city had stood in this situation. This city was Hierapytna. Among the ruins of the city we still see many beautiful mosaic pavements of ancient palaces or temples, and the foundations of a magnificent and stately theatre.* The harbour, the walls of which, constructed of large stones, and consisting of three basins one within the other, may be seen beneath the water,† was defended by a chain. This magnificent work was entirely artificial, but it is now completely filled up and ruined by the lapse of time. In 1577 was dug up a marble slab, on which was the following inscription:‡—

"Publius Secundus" (which Torres corrects to "Imperator Tib.")
"Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, Vias et Semitas restituit, per Æpaconum Agrippinum Rectorem secundum, et finitorem decimum."

A square pier, or pilaster, also was found among the ruins in 1565, on which was engraved a Greek inscription, containing the oath which the Carthaginians made to the inhabitants of Hierapytna, on entering into a treaty with them. The beginning of the inscription is wanting. The pier was removed to the church of St. Zorzo (Georgio) at Settia, from whence it was taken in 1575 by Giac. Foscarini, Cav. and Procuratore, and then Gen.-Proveditore and Inquisitore of the island, and sent to Venice, where it is now in the possession of his heirs.§

[By the treaty with this city, found at Teos, we learn that Minerva Polias was worshipped here.‖ She is referred to also in the following inscription.]

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* *Architeatro*, MSS. Nos. 2, 10; some others read *amphi*theatre.

† Donati MS., quoted by Torres, *Fœdera Cretensium*, cap. ii, art. 1.

‡ This is taken from Donati's MS. (Torres y Ribera, *Fœdera Cretensium*, ii, 1.) The page which contained it in MS. No. 1 is lost; but an Italian translation appears in No. 2.

§ Gerapetra is at present a delicious village, with most beautiful gardens; the lemons are remarkably sweet and tender. (MS. No. 11, p. 19.)

‖ Chishull, *Ant. Asiat.*, p. 132.

. . . . . ων
. . . . . αν δίτ(ων)
δὲ . . . τὰν ἰσοπολιτείαν καὶ τὸν ὅρκ)ον ἀγγραψάντων
οἱ . . . . . δε) στάλαι λιθίναι τρεῖς κα(ὶ
τὰν μὲν θέντων οἱ Ἱερα[πύ]ντνιοι δ)ν Ἱερα[πύ]ντν[ᾳ]* ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τᾶς Ἀθανα(ι-
ας τᾶς Πολιάδος, τὰν) δὲ ἄλλαν οἱ κατοικέοντες Ἱερα[πύ]ντνιοι
ἐν)..... ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ Ἀσκλαπιῷ, τὰν δὲ τρίταν κοινᾷ
αν)..... ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τᾶς Ἀθαναίας. αἰ δέ τί κα δοξῇ βωλευομέ-
νοις) ἐπὶ τῷ κοινᾷ συμφέροντι ἐπιδιορθῶσαι ἢ ἐξαλεῖν ἢ ἐν-
βαλέν, μὴ ἔνορκον ἔστω· ὅ, τι δὲ δ(πι) γράψαιμεν, ἔνοκόν τε ἔστω καὶ
ἔν(ο)ινον. Ὅρκος. Ὀμνύω τὰν Ἑστίαν καὶ (Ζ)ᾶνα(φ)ράτριον, κα(ὶ Ζᾶ)να
Δικταῖον, καὶ Ἥραν, καὶ Ἀθαναίαν Ὠλερίαν, καὶ Ἀθαναίαν Πολιάδα,
καὶ Ἀθαναίαν Σαλμωνίαν, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα Πύθιον, καὶ Λατώ, καὶ Ἄρ(τε)-
μιν, καὶ Ἄρεα, καὶ Ἀφροδίταν, καὶ Κ(ω)ρῆτας, καὶ Νύμφας, καὶ τὸν Κύρβαν-
τα, καὶ θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας· ἢ μὲν ἀγὼ εὐνοήσω τοῖς ἐπ[ί-
τασι Ἱερα[πυ]ντνίοις τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἀκλόωι καὶ ἀδόλως, καὶ δὴ
τὸν αὐτὸν φίλον καὶ ἐχθρὸν ἕξω, καὶ πολεμήσω ἀπὸ χώρας παντὶ
σθένει, οὗ καὶ οἱ ἐπίταντες Ἱερα[πύ]ντνιοι, καὶ τὸ δίκαιον δ(ω)σω, καὶ
ἐμμενῶ ἐν τοῖς συγκειμένοις, καὶ οὐ κακοτεχνήσω οὐδὲν τῶν
ἐν τᾷδε τᾷ ἰσοπολιτείᾳ γεγραμμένων οὔτε λόγῳ οὔτε ἔργῳ
οὐδὲ ἀλλᾳ ἐπιτράψω ἐκὼν καὶ γινώσκων παρευρέσει οὐ δεμιᾷ
οὐδὲ τρόπῳ οὐδενί. αἰ δέ τι ἐπιορκήσαιμι τῶν ὥμοσα ἢ τῶν συνε-
θέμαν, τόν τε θεόν, τὸν ὥμοσα, ἐμμένιαν ἦμεν, καὶ ἐξόλλυσθαι
κακίστῳ ὀλέθρῳ, καὶ μήτε γᾶν μήτε δένδρεα καρπὸν φέραν, μή-
τε γυναῖκας τίκτειν κατὰ φύσιν, τῷ τε πολέμῳ μή με σῶον νέεσθαι· εὐορ-
κέοισι δὲ ἁμῖν τόν τε θεὸν ἵλαον ἦμεν, καὶ γίνεσθαι πάντα ἀγαθά.†

MINOA.‡

ISTRONA.

[Among the ruined edifices and columns of this ancient city are two immense marble blocks half buried in the earth, and measuring 18 by 5 braccie, (54 by 15 feet.)§

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* Chishull and Hoeckh consider this inscription as part of a treaty with the inhabitants of Gortyna; Price and Selden suppose it to be a treaty with the Priansians; Belli reads the word here indicated as Καρωγοντα; and in the MS. before us, the Latin translation is Carthagina. It is clearly shown, however, by Boeckh, that the treaty is between the inhabitants of the city and those of the province of Hierapytna.

† This and the following inscriptions were copied from the MS. of Honorio Belli, by Apostolo Zeno. They have been published by Muratori, Gruter, and Boeckh; but without the text. The readings here adopted are from the last mentioned author.

‡ The remains of this city will be described in the next number.

§ Corn., *Creta Sacra*, i, 11.

MILETUS.

Considerable remains of walls of polygonal masonry, both of the acropolis and city, are still to be seen.*

OLUS, *seu* OLONTE.

From Combe's Mus. Hunter.

There was a temple in this city to Britomartis, a wooden statue of whom was executed by Dædalus.† Her effigy is represented on the coin I have selected for illustration.]

CHERSONESUS.

On the north side of the island, at about twenty miles east of Candia, in the bishopric of *Cheroneso*, are enormous remains of aqueducts and walls of prodigious thickness, being the vestiges of the maritime Chersonesus.‡

This city and promontory was the port of Lyctus; the harbour was formerly very commodious, but is not now capable of holding large vessels. A temple to Britomarte (Diana)§ stood here, which was of such repute that no one was allowed to enter but with naked feet.

[Bondelmonte describes palaces or other buildings ornamented with columns, a magnificent port now destroyed, and long conduits of water.‖]

LYCTUS, *sive* LYTTUS.

At a place called *Litto*,¶ the ancient** city of Lyctus, mentioned by Strabo, situate upon a lofty mountain nearly in the

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* Pashley, *Crete*, i, 269, note. † Paus. ix, 40.

‡ It was the port of Lyctus.

§ Strabo, p. 479, lib. x. ‖ Corn., *Creta Sacra*, i, 11.

¶ MS. *Bibl. Marc.*, vi, 286, gives the modern name as *Vida*; MS. No. 2, as *Xida*.

‖ It is said by Polybius (lib. iv) to be the most ancient city in the island.

centre of the island, and six miles east of *Castel Pediada*,* are the walls of the ancient city, with circular bastions, and other fortifications, of an unusual character, and which have excited great admiration from modern engineers.† Numerous vestiges of ancient structures, tombs, and broken marbles, are also seen, among which was found a statue of a male figure holding a small boat in his hand, and inscribed underneath EMBERIMUS. Here also is an immense arch of an aqueduct, by which the water was carried across a deep valley, by means of a large marble channel (*gorna*,) which is still apparent.‡

BIENNUS.

[We are told by Stephanus that a temple to Jupiter existed in this city.

INATUS.

This city was situated on a mountain and river of the same name. It had a temple to Lucina, or Eileithyia.§]

GNOSSUS,

was the capital of the country in the time of King Minos, the site of which is now marked by a valley of gardens, and a town called *Makroteiko*, three miles distant from the city of Candia. It is so called from a long wall, which is the principal object that attracts attention, though many other ruins of walls and vaults cover the site of the ancient city; but neither columns nor statues are now to be found, all the stones of the ancient city having been removed by the inhabitants of the modern town of Candia.‖

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* At this place are remains of ancient walls, the lines of which show that the enclosure was formerly more extensive than it is at present. (MS. No. 11, p. 94.)

† MS. No. 11, p. 20 b. ‡ *Ib.*

§ *Etym. Magn., s. v.*; Callim., *Fragm.* 168; Steph. Byz.

‖ Pococke describes a building which would appear to be a "stadium or small theatre." It consisted of fifteen arches built in an inclined position, 18 feet deep, and fifteen others opposite, with a distance between of 40 feet. (Vol. ii, 256.) A wooden statue of Minerva, by Dædalus, was preserved here. (Paus. ix, 40.) From the antiquity of this statue arose the dispute between this city and Athens, as to the first worship of the goddess. (Pindar, *Olymp.* vii; Solinus, xvii.)

[Among the remains are sculptures of black marble, but buried in the earth.* On the river Theron, near Gnossus, there was a temple in honour of Jupiter and Juno, at which their espousals were annually represented with great ceremony.†]

Mount Juctas.

To the south of these remains is this sacred mountain, which, with the island of Standia, form landmarks for the distant navigator, to enable him to determine the city of Candia, as in ancient times they served to designate the city of Gnossus. This mountain was the supposed site of the amours of Jupiter, the King of Creta, from which fable it has derived its name. Some baths and other edifices may still be traced on it; and on the north side of the mountain is a sepulchre worked in the rock, with a narrow entrance, and measuring 40 braccie in length and 4 in width. At the extremity is a large square stone, on which are certain rude characters, which have been taken for an inscription.‡

ARCADIA.

In the British Museum.

[A remarkable circumstance, relative to this city, is said to have taken place on the occasion of the city being conquered. All the rivers and fountains suddenly dried up, and did not open again till six years afterwards.§

TEMENOS.

Castel Temenos was built, in 961, by Nicephorus Phocas, on a lofty and steep

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* At the time of Bondelmonte's visit there existed a mosaic pavement containing several figures. (Corn., *Creta Sacra*, i, 9.)

† Diod. Sic., lib. v.

‡ MS. No. 11; so also Bondelmonte. The tomb was believed by the ancients to emit fire annually, in the same manner that the "Holy Sepulchre" of the modern Greeks does now. See Anton., lib. xix.

§ Severa, *Quæst. Nat.*, iii, 11; Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, xxxi, 4.

hill, separated from the adjoining hills by precipices and ravines, and having constant springs of fresh water on its summit.* Coronelli describes it as one of the ancient cities of the island, and states that it preserves in great part its ancient splendour.†

HERACLEUM, *olim* AMNISSUS.

This city contained a temple to Eileithyia.‡

DIA.

Remains of marble edifices are visible on the sea-shore. They are described by Bondelmonte.§]

GORTYNA.

Fourteen miles inland from Matalia, towards the north, is a spot beneath *Castel-nuovo*, in the plain of Messarea, which is strewed with noble columns, statues, and other fragments of different coloured marbles; and the deeper one excavates, the more numerous do these vestiges appear. These marbles are chiefly African, some coloured, some spotted, and all most costly. Some of them may be seen in the singular blocks at the noble entrance to the college of the Serenissa Principe, and many others in the façade and interior of the church of St. Mark the Evangelist.‖ Among the ruins is a large gateway,¶ in front of which are two large columns of six braccie diameter, (nine feet Eng.) That on the east side is prostrate and broken, but that on the west is still erect and entire. In continuation of these columns are two orders (rows?) of pilasters on each side, above which were statues of the undermentioned Consuls and Pro-consuls, the names and titles of whom are engraved on the pilasters below, in Greek characters; from one

* Leo Diaconus, quoted by Pashley, i, 223. § *Isolario.*
† Strabo, p. 476, lib. x. § Corn., *Creta Sacra*, i, 10. ‖ MS. No. 11.
¶ The Cap.-Gen. Moresini excavated around this gateway, and found a great quantity of bases, beautifully-worked capitals, and fragments of marble statues. (MS. No. ii.) The wall is 7 feet thick; the construction is of brick, with layers of large tiles every four feet. The archway is 25 feet 2 inches wide, and the pier on each side, 40 feet; so that the total front is upwards of 100 feet. (Pococke, *Desc. of the East*, p. 252.)

of which inscriptions we gather that this portico formed the entrance to the Justice-hall, (Prætorium).*

(1.) Πετρώνιον Πρόβον, τὸν λαμπρότατον ἀνθύπατον, καὶ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων πραιτωρίων, ϛ', δόγματι τῆς λαμπρᾶς Γορτυνίων βουλῆς Οἰκουμένιος Δοσίθεος Ἀσκληπιόδοτος ὁ λαμπρότατος ὑπατικὸν ἀνέστησεν.

(2.) Ἑσπερίης πάσης χθονὸς ὄβριμον ἰθυντῆρα
Μαρκελλῖνον ἄθρει θαῤῥαλέω(ι) ταμίην,
Ἑλλάδος ἀγλαὸν ἔρνος, ὃς εὐδικίῃ καὶ ἀρωγῇ
Κουφίζων πόλιας θῆκεν ἁλαφροτέρας.
Τοὔνεκα καὶ προθύροισι Δίκης ἐπιμάρτυρα θεσμῶν
Βουλῆς καὶ Πυῤῥόου στῆσαν ἀφημοσύνη.

(3.) Εἰκόνα τήνδ' ἀσάθρει· πέλεται δὲ τοῦ ἀγνοῦ ὑπάρχου
Ἐκ Κρητῶν πόλιν, ἣν μοῦνος ἔθηκα νέην.
Ἀγχίθυρος δ' ἕστηκα Δίκης πέλας· εἰμὶ κριτὴς γάρ
Ἥπιος ἰθυδίκοις, τοῖς δ' ἀδικοῦσι δέος.
Στῆσε δὲ Καλλείνικος ἐνηὴς δόγματι νήσου,
Γαΐης Ἰλλυρίδος δεύτερον ἠέλιον.

(4.) Γ. Ἀνίκιον Βάσσον, τὸν λαμπρότατον ἀνθύπατον Καμπανίας, δόγματι τοῦ κοινοῦ πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας Οἰκουμένιος Δοσίθεος Ἀσκληπιόδοτος ὁ λαμπρότατος ὑπατικὸς τῆς Κρητῶν ἐπαρχίας ἀνέστησεν.

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* Westward of this, Pococke describes a strong building, 30 feet square, and further on, a circular edifice, 90 feet diameter, the wall of which was 9 feet thick, containing a line of chambers 5 feet wide and 17 feet long, adorned with niches 4 feet 10 inches wide. Further on, towards the north, was another large building. South of this is the aqueduct, at extremity of which are remains of very considerable buildings,—perhaps the prætorium, for several inscriptions to the honour of magistrates lie about. It had a portico round the building, eight columns of which, on pedestals, still remain. The city walls may be traced. (*Desc. of the East*, p. 252-254.) Strabo describes them as six and a quarter miles in circumference, (p. 478, lib. x). The aqueduct is on large arches; a portion of it is entire, the water from which turns several mills. (Belon, *Les Observ. de plus. Singularitez*, etc., p. 8.) A great part of the city is brought to a level by means of arched substructions. (*Id.*) The city was adorned with temples to Apollo *Pythius*,—from whence a portion of the city was called the Pythium, (Steph., Anton. Lib. *Met.* 25); Jupiter *Hecatombæus*, (Hesychius, Ptolemy, Hephæstion apud Photium, in *Bibl. Hist.*, lib. v); Diana, (Æmilius Probus), Mercury *Edæus*, (Etym. Mag. v. *Edæa*); and Cadmus, (Solin. 16). Of these, the first was the most ancient. Meursius adds a temple to Æsculapius, referring to Pausanias (ii, 2); but this temple was in Elis, (confront v, 7, and viii, 28). The river Lectheus ran through the midst of the city.

(5.) Κοΐντον Καικίλιον Ῥουφεῖνον, τὸν κράτιστον ἀνθύπατον Κρήτης καὶ Κυρ(ή)νης, Κυντ(ί)λιοι Πύῤῥοι τὸν φίλον. Ἀναξιμένης Εὐ(ρ)υστράτο(υ) Μιλήσιος (ἐποίει.)

(6.) (Τ.) Φλ. Ὑπάτιον, τὸν λαμπρότατον ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ ἀπὸ ἐπαρχων Πραιτωρίου, δόγματι τοῦ κοινοῦ πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας Οἰκουμένιος Δοσίθεος Ἀσκληπιόδοτος ὁ λαμπρότατος ὑπατικὸς τῆς Κρητῶν ἐπαρχίας ἀνέστησεν.

(7.) Ἀγόριον Πραιτε(ξ)τᾶτον, τὸν λαμπρότατον ἀπὸἐπάρχων τῆς βασιλευούσης (Ῥ)ώ(μ)ης (Β'), ὀγματι τῆς λαμπρᾶς Γορτυνίων βουλῆς Οἰκείυμένιος Δοσοθείος Ἀσκληπιόδοτος ὁ λαμπρότατος ὑπατικὸς ἀνέστησαν.

(8.) (Φλάβ)ιον Σεβῆρον, τὸν λαμπρότατον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατον ἔπαρχον τῆς βασιλευούσης Ῥώμης, δογματι τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς Κρητῶν ἐπαρχιας Οἰκουμένιος Δοσίθεος Ἀσκληπιόδοτος ὁ λαμπρότατος ὑπατικὸς ἀνέστησεν.

(9.) Πούβλιον Σεπτίμιον Γέτην, ταμίαν καὶ ἀντιστράτ(η)γον Κρήτης καὶ Κυρήνης, Ἀντώνιος Παραιβάτης, καὶ Τέττιος Μάκερ, καὶ Τειμαγένης Σόλωνος, οἱ ἀγορανόμοι τὸν φίλον.

The following are of recent period—

Ἐπὶ Θεωδόρου τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου καὶ Α. Πιλίου τοῦ περιβλέπτου ἀντθυπάτου εὐτυχῶς ἀνενεώθη κου.... ὁ τοῖχος ὑπάτου Φλαβίου Αττίωνος τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἰνλουστρίου Β.

Mani monachi et fratrum suorum Paterini monachi et sororis ejus Cataphyge tempore Imperii Andromaci Paleologi.*

[This magnificent portico may be regarded as something more than a mere appendage to the Prætorium. It may be considered rather as a Via-

R. P. 13 May, 1844.

Triumphal Avenue at Pompeiopolis, in Cilicia.

* This inscription is unpublished. The original, in Greek, is not given.

Triumphalis, or Via-Regalis, as the splendid entrance to a noble city. A remarkable example of this arrangement may be seen at Pompeiopolis, in Cilicia. From the grandeur of this monument, its perfect preservation, its beautiful disposition, and its analogy with the portico here described, I have introduced two sketches of it, taken in 1844, as affording some idea of these magnificent features of ancient cities. The portico at Pompeiopolis formed the approach to the city from a noble artificial harbour, of an elliptical form. It consisted of two hundred columns, in two rows, forty-four of which are standing. From the shafts of many of these columns jut out solid consoles, which formerly supported bronze statues of those citizens who had deserved well of their country, with their names, titles, and offices, inscribed on the console beneath. Porticos of this description are described, by Pausanias, as existing at Athens. They extended from the Gate to the Ceramicus, and they were adorned with brasen images of those "by whom something great had been achieved, and who are rendered illustrious by renown."* The southern portico of the Temple at Jerusalem consisted of a quadruple row of forty Corinthian columns.† The portico of Pessinus, in Phrygia, was a quadruple row of thirty-three columns.‡ But even these are eclipsed by the stupendous porticos of Antioch and Palmyra. In the former city a quadruple portico extended the whole length of the city, intersected in its middle by a cross street, in like manner embellished with a quadruple portico. That of Palmyra was near 4000 feet in extent: the grand avenue consisted of two hundred and fifty-six columns in length, 3 feet 3 inches in diameter, the central avenue measuring 37 feet in width, and the side porticoes 16 feet. This was intersected by five transverse porticoes and triumphal arches. One hundred and fifty-one columns remain erect, almost all of which have consoles. Similar porticoes existed at Phaselis, and some other cities of Asia Minor, and others are described at Arsinoe and Gerasa.

The question here arises—"Were these porticos open or covered?" I am inclined to think them open in their central avenue, but that where they were quadruple, the side porticos were covered. This appears to have been the case from the columns at Palmyra being connected together by entablatures; and if we may trust a view given by Langlès (*Voy. Pitt. de la Syrie*), an upper column is still standing, affording evidence of the existence of a *superior portico*.§ The great width of the central avenue, however, would be an argument against its being covered over, even with a wooden roof, though we may imagine it to have

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* Paus. i, 2. † Joseph. *Antiq.*, xv, 2, § 5.

‡ Texier, *L'Asie Mineure*, iii, pl. 225.

§ There is some mistake in the representation of this column. It is shown as standing on the frieze instead of the cornice; but the drawings are too carefully executed in other respects to allow of our supposing that the column does not exist. The work was published in 1797.

been decorated, and protected from the sun, by awnings, on grand and important occasions. The busts and statues would require this effect of light and shade to allow of their being seen to advantage. That the porticos of two rows of columns were not covered, appears from the fact that the columns at Pompeiopolis are of different proportions. Some of the shafts are plain, others fluted, some spiral fluted, and others cabled. Most of the capitals are Corinthian, but some are composite, and some of fanciful design: one cap has its leaves arranged in spiral lines. Some of the bases are not worked. Many of the columns are without corbels, and those which exist are of different design. We may reasonably conclude that these columns and statues were voted by the commonalty of the city from time to time in memory of great and important services performed to the state. The *Triumphal Avenue* was therefore an important and conspicuous feature of a Roman city.]

R. F. 18 May, 1864.

Triumphal Avenue at Pompeiopolis, in Cilicia.

Near this is an ancient church, adorned with marble columns and mosaic decorations, which bears the name of *Hagius-Deca*, or "Ten Saints". A short distance from this church is another,

which is called Metropoli.* It is of still greater antiquity, but the only part of it which now exists is a small doorway.

About a bowshot from this is a stone archway, six paces wide, under which one may pass on horseback, for twenty-five paces, towards the north, but after this the passage becomes difficult. It is thought that some considerable stream once flowed beneath this vault, but at present there is little or no water. In the arch-stones of the vault are many Greek letters of about a quarter and a half long (5 inches English). Several conduits discharge themselves here; one especially, in a northerly direction, from a place called Isternes, or the Reservoir, where are some ancient walls and ruins, and an abundance of water, connected with which are several pipes and conduits, brought hither from the plain of Messarea.† Not far from this was a large vase or basin, capable of containing sufficient water for washing horses; adjoining which is a very long wall, with a marble tablet bearing the word *Stadion* in Greek letters. These edifices, antiquities, and ruins, cover an area of several miles.‡

Near the ruins in the plain, on a low hill called Castello,§ are many ruins constructed of brickwork, and particularly a long wall, fifty paces in extent and one in thickness, built also of brick, and which appears to have formed part of the judgment-hall of the city. Many other buildings of very ancient construction may likewise be traced, and from the summit of the hill may be discerned nearly the whole plain of the Messarea, or a distance of about forty miles. Beneath this hill is an immense wall of masonry, 121 paces long by one

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* MS. No. 11 reads, instead of this, "e poco lontano molte ruine chiamate Metropoli".

† MS. No. 12.

‡ MS. No. 11. The word stadion is not given; but it appears to be signified by the Italian expression, "corso di cavalli."

§ Bondelmonte mentions a magnificent castellum (reservoir), and says there are still upwards of two thousand columns and statues lying on the ground.

in thickness.* The building is circular, and surrounded by steps, the circuit of which measures about 200 paces. This is supposed to be the theatre.† All these ruins formed part of the ancient city of Gortyna.‡

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* Many of the copies read "lunghe et larghe di passo uno per una."

† The earlier copies do not contain the words, "this is supposed to be the theatre"; and the later copies which do so, were written after Belli's visit to the island; and the remark therefore was appended in consequence of his investigations.

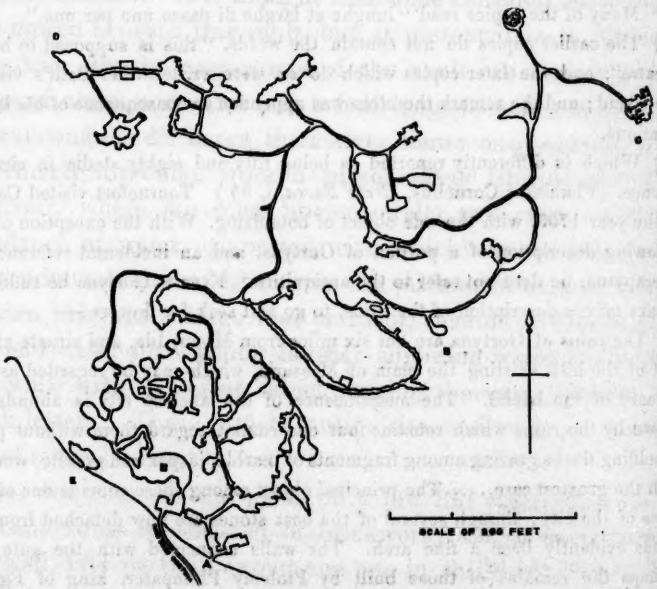
‡ Which is differently reported as being fifty and eighty stadia in circumference. (Flaminius Cornelius, *Creta Sacra*, i, 35.) Tournefort visited Candia in the year 1700, with the sole object of botanizing. With the exception of the following description of a portion of Gortyna, and an incidental reference to Hierapytna, he does not refer to the antiquities. Even at Gortyna he suddenly breaks off his description of the ruins, to go and seek for flowers:—

"The ruins of Gortyna are but six miles from Mount Ida, and situate at the foot of the hills skirting the plain of Messaria, which may be regarded as the granary of the island. The magnificence of the ancient city is abundantly shown by the ruins which remain; but one cannot regard them without pain, beholding flocks grazing among fragments of marble, jasper and granite, worked with the greatest care.....The principal object among these ruins is one of the gates of the city; though several of the best stones are now detached from it, it has evidently been a fine arch. The walls connected with the gate are perhaps the remains of those built by Ptolemy Philopater, king of Egypt. They are of great thickness, and entirely of brick. It would appear, from the remains, that this quarter was the finest of the city. There are two granite columns 18 feet long, and near these are many pedestals (for columns), placed at equal distances in one continuous line.....One sees nothing around but capitals and architraves. Perhaps these are the remains of the temple of Diana, in which Antiochus pretended to deposit his immense treasures in several vases, which were afterwards found to contain nothing but lead, and shortly afterwards went back to Asia, carrying with him his gold, concealed in the images of the gods he worshipped: or perhaps they were that of Jupiter, in which Menelaus sacrificed on hearing of the rape of Helen, as recorded by Ptolemy Hephæstion. It could not have been the temple of Apollo mentioned by Stephanus, for that was in the centre of the city, in the *Pythium*. Among the columns of these ruins are some of great beauty, adorned with spiral flutings, and 2 ft. 4 in. diameter.

"One finds among the ruins of Gortyna columns of red and white jasper, similar to the jasper of Cosme, in Languedoc; others like that of Campan, employed at Versailles.

Quarry, or Labyrinth.

At the distance of one mile* from Gortyna, on the line of hill upon which is built the Castello-nuovo, is an ancient quarry,† in the form of a grotto, the intricacy of which has caused it to be mistaken for the famous Labyrinth. It supplied



Plan of the Labyrinth of Gortyna.‡

the stone for building the city of Gortyna, and is entirely artificial, as is evident from the wheel-ruts of the carriages used in conveying the stone through the quarry, and also from the

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"There are but few statues, the Venetians having carried away all the best. The statue on the fountain of Canea, which was brought from this city, is finely draped. The head has been knocked off by the Turks" (in their abhorrence of idolatry).—(Tournefort, *Relation d'un Voyage du Levant*, l. 58.)

Blainville says of Gortyna—"Never have I seen such prodigious masses of ruins, of granite, porphyry, and the finest marble, as are here observed heaped together." (Blainville, *Letters from the Levant*, quoted by Höckh, *Creta*, l. 400.)

* The distance is generally described as being three miles.

† Said to be constructed by Ptolemy Philopater.

‡ From Sieber's *Reise*.

marks of tools which are still visible. The entrance is by a small hole.* It extends in a northerly direction, but in a sinuous line, so that one cannot see any considerable distance. The main gallery is about 410 paces long, from which branch off, on right and left, eight other galleries, forming a total length of about 800 paces. In some parts, especially in the middle, it is narrow and nearly choked up; so that one is obliged to crawl on the ground in order to get past. This grotto has been likened to that five miles from Vicenza, called the Covolo di Costozza, but it is finer. Among those who suppose this to be the labyrinth is Cristoforo Landino, a commentator on Virgil, who, referring to *Æneid.*, lib. vi, says that the labyrinth was a cavern in a mountain, caused by quarrying the stone for the city of Gortyna; and that it was called labyrinth, because "fuit factus labor intus in incidendis lapidibus ad ædificandam civitatem Gortinæ", which etymology is evidently false, the name alone being a sufficient refutation.†

* "Busa" (buco). On entering the grotto, the ear perceives a sound as of distant groans and tumult; then descending a hundred paces, galleries branch off on right and left, at the commencement of each of which are fearful and monstrous images. (MS. No. 10093 of the *Reg. Bibl. Parig.*, fol. 16 b, entitled *Cronica Antica d'Italia.*) The account is fabulous.

† Tournefort describes it as very intricate and wonderful, and as having many culs-de-sac; and states that the main gallery is 1160 paces in length, and that it leads to two large chambers. The entrance is obscure; but "as one advances it becomes perfectly surprizing". The sides are sometimes cut perpendicularly in the rock, and sometimes built up of loose stones. He could not discover the marks of wheels; and, from the difficulty of access, he does not believe it to be a quarry, but suggests whether it be not a subterranean passage through the mountain. (Tournefort, *Relation*, i, 65.)

The opinion, in favour of its being the labyrinth, has been ingeniously advocated by Cockerell. (Walpole's *Travels in Various Countries of the East*, art. xxii.) But Sieber, to whom we are indebted for the accompanying plan, and who spent three days in its examination, speaks with confidence as to its being a quarry. The building materials of Gortyna, he says, are evidently of this sandstone, and no other quarries exist in the neighbourhood. He reasons that

The real Labyrinth constructed by Dædalus, on command of King Minos, to which the Athenians were compelled to send annually seven of their noblest children to be devoured by the Minotaur, is by most historians placed in the city of Cnossus, and is invariably referred to that city, on ancient coins.

St. Toma.

In the jurisdiction of Castel Bonifacio, and in the neighbourhood of the village of St. Toma, the following Greek inscription is found engraved on a lofty and precipitous rock, beneath which are the ruins of some ancient buildings.

"Deabus Cereris, et filiæ Larchia Diana Eutonide filia."*

LEBENA.

This city is referred to by Homer in the second Iliad. It contains a large spring of water, from whence water was supplied by aqueducts, parts of which are still remaining, to Gortyna. A bridge of considerable span, and various other remains also exist. It contained a temple of Æsculapius, built on the model of that at Cyrene, and was resorted to even by strangers from Africa.†

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the cultivated land in Crete must have been too valuable to allow of its being wasted by the working of an open quarry; and from this cause, and for the more easy quarrying of the stone, and from its receiving less damage from the action of the atmosphere, he considers that this subterranean quarry was contrived. "The galleries are generally wide and spacious, and almost always sufficiently high; the chambers are three to five fathoms high; and the walls, where stones have been quarried, smooth." (F. W. Sieber, *Reise nach der Insel Kreta*, i, p. 511-520.) (A) and (B) are entrances to the quarry, now filled up. At (C) the corridor is obstructed by blocks of stone and chips, and there must have been another entrance in this vicinity: a communication with the exterior must also have existed at (D). By the side of the principal entrance is a smaller excavation, at (E).

* The original is not given.

† Paus. ii, 26; Philost. *Vita Apollon.*, iv, 11.

"*Fairhavens.*"*

[This place, which, with the cape Sammonium, the port Phœnix, and the island Clauda, are interesting to us from their connexion with St. Paul's shipwreck, still preserves its ancient name of *Kaloi-limenes*.

LAPSEA, (*sive* LISEA ?)

Near the Caloi Limenes, on the summit of the hills, are the remains of the city Lapsea, surrounded by precipitous mountains. A temple, with its statue, lies in ruins. Other vestiges may be traced near the harbour.†]

MATALIA.

Proceeding from this spot towards the west, we come to *Santa Maria di Matala*, where are some ruins and mosaic pavements,‡ the site of the ancient Matalia, which was one of the ports and emporia§ of Gortyna. In this city of Matalia was a temple, on which was written the following sentence:—

"Uncover thy head, and wash thy feet, and then enter into this holy place."‖

PHAESTOS.

In the British Museum.

* The most recent and elaborate account of this portion of St. Paul's travels, is contained in the *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, by Rev. W. J. Conybeare and the Rev. J. S. Howson, now publishing by Longmans.

† Bondelmonte, *Descriptio Cretæ*, in Cornel. *Creta Sacra*, i, 3.

‡ Bondelmonte calls them "most noble"; so also MS. No. 11.

§ The other port of Gortyna was Lebena.

‖ Dr. Pococke states that the plans of several chambers are visible in the rock, and that some tombs cut in the perpendicular cliff are six and seven stories in height. The walls of the city can be traced. (*Descript. of the East*, p. 350.)

[Phæstos was celebrated for its temple of Latona *Phytia*.* It had also a temple of Venus *Scotia*.†]

OAXOS.

In the district of Rettimo, in the territory of Castel Milopotamo, on the north side of Mount Ida, are found many vestiges of the ancient Oaxos, at a place now called *Axo*, consisting of mutilated inscriptions, ancient sepulchres, broken columns, and foundations of walls. The principal object is a noble aqueduct which conveyed water from a lofty mountain to another which, from its numerous ruins of great and sumptuous edifices, is supposed to have been included in the city.‡ Here was found a marble tablet attached to an ancient wall, and bearing the following inscription, which, though rudely and ignorantly executed, consists of four beautiful Greek verses. It has since been removed to the church of the Santo Crucifisso, within the town.

Μή μου ἐννβρίσ(σ)ῃς ἀγνὸν τάφον, ὦ παροδῖτα
Μή σοι μηνίσ(ω) πικρὸν ἐπ' Ἀγεσί(λᾳ)
Περσεφόνᾳ τε κόρᾳ Δωματέρος· ἀ(λλ)ᾳ παρέρπων
Εἰπ(ὸ)ν Ἀρατείῳ· Γαῖαν ἔχοις ἐλαφράν.

"Scoff not, O mortal! at the humble grave,
Lest thou be called by Pluto; lest the wrath
Of Ceres' daughter, Proserpine, o'ertake thee:
But, passing by, say thou to Arate,—
'Earth light lie over thee.'"

There are also many other inscriptions scattered about among

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* Anton. Liberalis, *Met.*, c. 17.

† *Etym. Magn.* (sub. v. *Cytherea*.) It possessed the port of Matalia previously to being conquered by the Gortynians. (Diod. Sic., v; Polybius, lib. iv.) Bondelmonte mentions a lofty rock, immediately after describing *Priotissa*, on which an aqueduct, and columns of different coloured marbles, are to be seen. He assigns the ruins to the ancient Succeta; the modern name is Calenus. (*Descr. Creta*, i, 5.) *Calevi* appears, in Coronelli's map, in the immediate neighbourhood of Priotissa.

‡ The distance across the valley is about seventy to eighty paces. (Pashley, i, 152.) The walls of the city are very remarkable, being of carefully-fitted Cyclopean masonry. A view of them is given in p. 143.

the ruins, but which, either from the ignorance of the sculptors, or from the use of abbreviations, are unintelligible.

[The tombs of this place are singular. They are not cut in the rock, but project in front of it, and are covered with vaulted roofs. They are lined on the inside with plaster.*]

Grotto of Mercury.

At *Milopotamo*, in the district of Rettimo, close to *Castel Melledone*, and a mile and a half from the said village, is a cavern penetrating the flanks† of a mountain. At the entrance of the grotto, on the left hand side, is an inscription of twelve Greek verses cut in the live rock,‡ which, though of elegant construction, display many errors of the unpractised sculptor.

Ἀρτεμιτ ἡ Σαλλόνιου θυγάτηρ.

Οὔρεσι Ταλλαίοισιν ἱδρυμένε Μαιάδοτ Ἑρμῆ,
Σπονδὴν καὶ θυσίην δέξο φιλοφρόσυνοτ,
Ἥν σοι Σαλλόνιοτ§ Μηνᾶτ λοιβαῖσι γεραίρει,
Κτήσεοτ ἐξ ὁσίην ψυχικὰ δῶρα διδούτ.
Καὶ πρὶν μὲν ζώοητ ἀλόχου φάοτ εἰσοροώοητ,
Σὺν κείνῃ κατ' ἔτοτ σοὺτ ἐγέραιρα τόπουτ·
Ἀνθ' ὧν δ' ἐνχρονίσατ ἐπετήσιον οὐκ ἀπέδωκεν,
Συμβίου ἀγνοτάταν τοῦδε καταφθιμέναν,
Ἀλγήσαν φρένα πολλά, μαθὼν δ' ὅτι δεῖ τά γε θεῖα
Τιμᾶν, δικλῆν σοι τήνδ' ἔτοραν θυσί(η)ν.
Καὶ σὺ δέ, παντοκράτωρ Ἐριούνιε, τόνδε φυλάσσοιτ
Ζωόν, ὅπωτ τιμᾷ σὸν δι' ὅλου τάμενοτ.

"Thou Mercury, of Maiia sprung, whose seat
In lofty Tallæus is, deign to receive
The humble sacrifice of lawful gain
Salonius Melas proffers thee.
Erst, on thine altar he libations poured
Each year in presence of his consort blest;
Since then, bereft of her, distress'd in mind,

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* Pashley, i, 146.

† MS. No. 2 reads "half-a-mile from the mountains"; the mistake having arisen from the same word *mezzo* signifying *half*, and *in the middle*.

‡ According to some MSS. the inscription occurs on a large stone four braccio square.

§ Boeckh reads Σαλουίοτ.

Thy sacred fane unvisited he left!
But now remembering the honour due
To the protecting gods, Omnipotent!
A double sacrifice he bears, that thou
May'st give him health—an ampler rite to pay."

On penetrating the grotto, at the distance of fifty paces, there is a slight descent, after which one perceives an insulated shaft, resembling an enormous column, and appearing to support the roof of the cavern. It is formed by the dripping of the water, and must have occupied an incredible space of time in its formation; while its structure is so regular and so remarkable, that one might imagine it to have been executed by some skilful architect.* Some parts of it are fragile, and in a state of semi-petrifaction, thus showing that the operation of nature is still going on; and whether considered in its general effect, or in its minute structure, it is a most beautiful object to behold.† Some way further on, the floor is covered with numerous stalagmites, the slow and irregular formation of which causes them to assume a hundred different shapes, sometimes appearing as statues of men and animals, sometimes as bas-reliefs and other objects of art executed by man's device. In other parts, the stalagmites assume a pyramidal form, five and six braccie in height and upwards, with stalactites over them of equal size and figure, which in some places nearly touch. These formations are of a light yellow colour, and transparent. At some distance beyond, the cavern diminishes in size till the opening becomes barely sufficient for a man to pass; after which, at the end of an irregular descent, one approaches another spacious cavern, in which are similar petrifactions to those in the first cavern, the most remarkable of which is a mass resembling a woman holding a child in her arms, so perfect as to appear made by hand. The stalactites here assume the form of clothes, sheets, etc., recalling to recollection

* A view of it is given in Pashley's *Crete*, i, 136.

† It is a worthy rival even of the grotto of Antiparos. (Pashley, i, 126.)

the votive offerings placed by pious individuals in the church of St. Rocco, at Venice.

One can explore the cavern for a considerable distance beyond, but further progress is at length impeded by the appearance of water.*

Another cavern exists in the territory of Rettimo, and was accidentally discovered, by the earth which concealed the entrance having been washed away by the rain. It is on the sea-coast, towards Canea. The cavern appears to have been formed by art. After penetrating it to a considerable distance, we discovered a great many square stones about 2 feet 6 inches high, upon each of which remained the fragments of a skeleton, as if seated. The bones were of a remarkable size.†

[Another very beautiful cavern is in the neighbourhood of *Catholico*, near Minoa. It is described by Pashley (l. 25), who gives an interesting view of its interior.]

PANORMUS.

Some remains of this once fine city may be traced on a hill which still bears the same name, in the neighbourhood of Castel Milopotamo.‡

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* This cavern was, in 1822, the scene of a horrible massacre. On the approach of the Egyptian troops, the inhabitants of the village, to the number of three hundred, (chiefly women and children) fled to this *Cresphygeton*, with cattle and provisions sufficient for a six months' siege. Unable to attack them in front, where the narrow approach would enable a few Greeks to defend the entrance against any force they might bring against them, the Egyptian troops posted themselves on the heights above. After losing several men, the pasha rolled stones against the mouth of the cavern from above, and then piled up against it resinous wood, oil, sulphur, and other combustible materials, which, set on fire, the smoke soon filled the innermost recesses of the cavern. Not a soul survived. The cowardly Turks waited patiently eighteen days without the cavern, before they ventured to enter it.

A view of the cavern is given in Pashley, i, 136.

† MS. No. 11, p. 14.

‡ *Addit. M.S.* 8636, plut. 121, H, fol. 12 b; and MS. *Bibl. Marc.* vi, 286.

PANTOMATRIUM.

[The modern name of this town is not stated, but its site appears to have been found, and it is said to be furnished with an abundant supply of water. Some years ago, a most beautiful column was found here, entirely gilt.* It was situated on a lofty mountain: several cisterns and vestiges of temples are yet visible.†]

ELEUTHERNA.

In the British Museum.

About eighteen miles west of the city of Oaxos,‡ in the same district, we perceive the remains of the ancient city of Eleutherna, the site of which is marked by a Greek monastery of the same name. Among the remains of the city are many ancient edifices, part entire and part in ruins; columns, aqueducts, cisterns—some of which, of immense size, are cut out of the live rock, and supported by groves of columns and expansive vaults as of great temples, all of which are so enormous as to strike the eye with wonder and amazement at the power and riches of the people that could afford to rear such stately monuments. Many coins are found here.

SYBRITIA.

In the British Museum. From Mionnet.

* *Addit. MS.* 8636, plut. 121 H. fol. 12; and MS. *Bibl. Vat.* vi, 286.

† Bond., Corn., *Creta Sacra*, i, 9.

‡ And five miles south of *Arcadi*, on the summit of a lofty hill. (*Id.* i, 310.)

[Famous for its numerous and beautiful silver coins, one of which we have selected for illustration.

PSYKION.

Considerable remains of this city are reported to exist at *Kastri*.*

RHITNYMA.

(See Belli, in the next number).]

CORION.

The lake Corion, *Kurna*, is the only one in the island. There was a temple to Athene on its bank.†

LAPPA.

From Goltzius.

At the fine modern city of *Polis*, in the district of Rettimo, are the lofty walls of the ancient city of Lampe or Lappa, built by Agamemnon. This was the celebrated *studio* of the Cretans. The modern city has taken the name of Polis, in remembrance of the famous one whose site it occupies. The walls are more than five miles in circumference, and contain within them stupendous ruins of temples and other fabrics, chiefly of brick, large cisterns,‡ aqueducts, numerous columns, capitals and bases, and many statues.§ Gold and silver coins of great beauty are brought to light, as well as numerous mutilated inscriptions. Below the city, on the western side, several

* Pashley, i, 303. † Steph. Byz.

‡ One of these, described by Bondelmonte as a fountain, measures 40 by 20 feet, and has an inscription. (Corn., *Creta Sacra*, i, 16.)

§ Pashley noticed considerable remains of a massive brick edifice, with buttresses 15 feet wide, and of 9 feet projection; a circular building, 60 feet diameter, with niches round it 11 feet wide; a cistern, 76 feet by 20; a Roman brick building, and several tombs cut in the rock. (i, 83.)

beautiful and ample springs of the most delicate water take their rise in a place where several vestiges of more ancient structures may yet be traced, thereby showing that the inhabitants of the ancient city had mills here even in their time, for the purpose of various manufactures. The springs, after junction with another torrent descending from the village of Messagugna, form the river Muscella, which separates the territory of Rettimo from that of Canea. On the eastern side of the city is a deep fissure, through which runs a river, which is crossed by a noble bridge formed of large blocks of stone of ancient workmanship. The sides of the ravine are pierced in a variety of forms for sepulchres, for the inhabitants of the city above.

Here follows a series of objects of natural phenomena and miracles, the latter of which, though originating from, and propagated by Greek duplicity and superstition, are readily believed and repeated by the as credulous catholic travellers; who, accustomed to miracles of the like nature in their own church, cannot impugn the authenticity of those brought forward even by a rival communion.

The first is the *Miracle of the Virgin's Spring*. Outside the city of Lappa is a cave containing five niches, three of which are narrow, and the other two are square. "These niches are sometimes full of water, and sometimes empty; sometimes they are all alike, and at other times all different . . . These changes operate without reference to the seasons, and sometimes so rapidly that persons visiting the arches, within a few hours of each other, bring back different accounts . . . In seasons of drought they are often quite full, and in rainy seasons empty . . . The water is so pure that though kept for any time it never putrifies." Such wonderful properties could not pass unnoticed, and accordingly we have a legend of five holy virgins, whose names I would give did I think my readers curious in such matters, who were cruelly martyred here in the beginning of the Christian era. "The water is given to the sick, who drink it with devotion, and then recover; in consequence of which miracle a small Greek church has been built within the grotto, and the portraits of the martyrs painted on the wall. Persons come here from all parts of the island, and even from foreign countries. After hearing mass, they drink of the water, and carry some away with them to their houses."

The second miracle is that of the *Naphtha Flame*. At about five and a half miles north north-east of Lappa, is the village Cato Varsomanero, above which, on the flank of the mountain, and distant about a bow-shot from the village, is the naphtha flame. Though apparent at five or six miles' distance, it becomes invisible on near approach. In order to fix the locality an arrow was shot into

the cavity one night, and the next day a church was commenced around it, and dedicated to St. Veneranda: but when completed the flame was found to have removed to the distance of a bow-shot, and it is therefore considered to be more of a diabolical than of a sacred nature.*

But the most remarkable is the *Miracle of the Crosses.* At the church of the Madonna, at Saitures, in the district of Rettino, is a cross indued with the power of healing demoniacs. "When persons so afflicted are brought into the church, mass is performed, and the demoniac stretched on the ground. The cross, which is of iron, with a silver sheath, is then placed upon the breast, and it immediately begins to move towards the head, and on arriving at the mouth stands upright, without being touched by any hand. The mouth of the demoniac must then be well opened, and the evil spirit will escape. Many persons have been thus healed, and cures are still continued. In the church of St. Giovanni, at Erezzes, in the district of Castel-Mirabello, and territory of Candia, is another cross, which exhibits the same wonderful properties."†

Cascade at Mettocchio di Gnosseri. On leaving the village of Mettocchio di Gnosseri, on the slopes of Mount Ida, toward the plain of Messarea, a beautiful cascade presents itself to the traveller, the water of which, confined between two banks, at length precipitates itself over a lofty cliff, with such force as to throw up a dense spray, which constantly reflects the colours of the iris.‡

PHŒNIX.

[The remains of this town are visible at *Lutro*, a rocky hill near Anopolis. The place was scarcely a mile in circumference. The south side is precipitous, but it was defended on the other sides by polygonal walling of an early character.§

The ruins bespeak great antiquity. Many columns and statues lie about, and numerous sepulchres (sarcophagi?) of white marble may be seen. At *St. Romeli*,

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* Naphtha flames appear to be very common in Candia. In an autograph map of the island, in the Marciana, they are represented in the following places: Porto della Suda; near the river Pasthea; Spiaggia di Mesouni; Caconoros; Ponta di Trapano; three in the Spiaggia di Mirto; and one at Gerapetra.

† Other miracles are described in Pashley: as the flying picture of the Madonna, (i, 191); the flying of the sacred wafer into the mouth of a saint, (i, 194); and the tomb of Caiaphas, at Gnossus, whose body rose seven times after it was buried, (i, 207).

‡ Those who have seen only the waterfalls of England, can form no idea of the wonderful effect produced by the spray of large cascades; the curling, floating, rising, and dissipating forms of which are even more extraordinary and beautiful than the pointed, comet-like appearance of the falling waters.

§ Pashley, ii, 242. A view of the polygonal walling is given in p. 235.

also, are fragments of statues, porphyry and marble columns, and the ruins of a temple.*]

APTERA.

In the British Museum, and Mionnet.

Towards the west of the Castel della Bicorna, in the territory of Canea, above the headland called Epodhemuri, in the Porto della Suda, opposite to the small island on which is the fortress of the harbour, are the remains of the ancient city of Minoa (Aptera), situated on a lofty mountain. The walls are quite entire, and about three miles in circuit, enclosing many fine cis-

Plan of the ruins of Aptera.†

* Bondelm. in Corn., *Creta Sacra*, i. 5.

† From the Hydrographical Survey. Olivier describes two large cisterns, above ground, lined with red plaster, and showing the lines of the water marks. The city was built partly on a platform, and partly sloping towards the sea. The walls may be traced throughout. One of the gates of the city is visible on the eastern side. (*Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman*, ii, 293.) To the east of Aptera, near *Castel Apicorno*, is an ancient stone bridge over the river *Chephalonisi*. (Bondelm. Corn., *Creta*, i, 8.)

terns* and columns, and a beautiful amphitheatre, of an oval† form.‡ The ruins are now called Paliocastro, and the site is admirably adapted for a city and fortress. Would that the city of Canea had been built in such a spot, for the better security of this kingdom!

CYDONIA.

[This port was capable of being closed (Scylax). Some remains of mosaic work are said to exist.§ The temples of Cydonia were built by the Samians.‖ It was at one period the principal city of the island.¶ Minerva *Cydonia* was the chief divinity.**

It is generally considered to have occupied the site of the modern Canea, the port of which very exactly agrees with the description of the port of the ancient Cydonium.

MONS TITYRUS.

Pococke suggests that Cydonia was situated on Mount Tityrus, in a position of great strength, where marks of the tool are visible on the rock, and where walls are still standing on the brow of abrupt precipices.††

The foundations noticed by Pococke may possibly be the remains of the celebrated temple of Dictynna, which stood here, and which is mentioned by Strabo, Diodorus, Callimachus, and Mela.

TARRHA.

This city was celebrated for its fane of Apollo *Tarrhæus*.‡‡

POECILASSUS.

At a place called *Phelinus*, Bondelmonte noticed the prodigious foundations of an artificial harbour, which he attributed to this city.§§

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* The usual mode in which cisterns are constructed in these countries is by building a wall of irregular small stones, and lining it on the inside with fine brickwork covered with a very hard cement, which is generally very perfect. (Pashley, *Creta*, i, 39. See a view of one of them in p. 61.) Bondelmonte found the dimensions of one to be 45 by 18 feet. (Cornelius, *Creta Sacra*, i, 8.)

† *Ovata*, in all the MSS. except No. 1, which reads *ottagonale*. Pashley describes it as a theatre, but states that it has lost about two-thirds of its original size (i, 37).

‡ One building is 25 feet square, with niches as for statues. (Pococke, *Desc.*, ii, 262.) Pashley observed several public buildings, and traced the walls to a considerable extent, part of which are of a cyclopean character, with stones 9 feet in size; a view of which is given in i, 38.

§ *Voy. du Levant*, i, 99: a MS. by Louis Chevallier in the Bibl. de l'Arsenal, Paris, No. 19.

‖ Schol. Apoll., iv. ¶ Phranzes, i, 36. ** Paus., vi, 21.

†† *Descript.* ii, 247-8. ‡‡ Steph. Byz. *sub v.* §§ Cornelius, *Creta Sacra*, i, 5.

COITE.

The island, improperly called Latoa by Bondelmonte, between Psacum and Cydonia, is probably Coite. He gives the modern name as *Todrum*, which appears to be a corruption of *St. Theodoro*. It contains an extensive cavern on its southern side.*

ELYROS.†

The first object that presents itself is a building consisting of a series of arches; and next, vestiges of walls, especially on the north and north-eastern sides of the ancient city. Further on, are some massive stones, some pieces of an entablature, and several fragments of the shafts of columns, all that now remain of an ancient temple. Twenty years ago the antepagmenta of the doorway, 10 or 11 feet high, were standing, but were converted by a Turk into millstones. The pavement was of mosaic. Some cisterns were also visible. The walls may be traced on the north and north-east sides, and must have been of about two miles in circuit. At a slight elevation above are other walls, as of an acropolis.‡

SYIA.

Traces of the walls of the city, and of some public buildings, may be observed. It still retains its ancient name. Several tombs exist, resembling those of Haghio Kyrko. It had a small port.§ An aqueduct is also remaining.‖

Hagghio-Kyrko.

Haghio-Kyrko, which Pashley regards as the ancient Lyssus, occupies a small hollow of the hills, facing the sea, like a theatre. Near the church of the Panaghia are what appear to be vestiges of an ancient temple, consisting of granite columns, and white marble fragments, architraves and pediments. Further on, appears to have been another temple, and a theatre. The tombs are on the south-western side of the plain. They are worked independent of the rock, with arched roofs. There are perhaps fifty of them.¶

HYRTACINA.

In the British Museum.

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* Cornelius, *Creta Sacra*, i, 7.

† The coins of this city have the same type as those of Hyrtacina.

‡ Pashley, ii, 105, 106. § Pashley, ii, p. 102.

‖ Capt. Graves, *Admiralty Chart* of the western extremity of the island.

¶ Pashley, ii, 88.

Mr. Pashley, who visited all the ancient sites in this vicinity, reports the existence of numerous vestiges of polygonal masonry on the north and western sides, and measuring little more than half a mile in length. On the other sides the city was precipitous. Although so small, it was furnished with a little acropolis on its southern side. He also describes the care observed by the inhabitants in defending the gateways of their city. Not only do walls project without the gate, but flanking walls are executed within, forming passages through which the enemy would have to pass ere he could set foot within the city.*

KANTANOS.

Here, also, Mr. Pashley observed cyclopean walling, but of an earlier and more angular character than at Hyrtakina. On the eastern side, where the ground is less steep, there is a quadruple wall, in order to make up for the want of natural defences. The modern name is *Khadros.*]†

DICTAMNUM, *sive* DICTYNNÆUM.‡

The remains of this city are found above *St. Zorzo*§ *di Magnes*, twelve miles west of Canea, and six from Capo Spada, in a conspicuous elevation of a lofty mountain. There now exist only a few cisterns, columns, and marbles,‖ the rest having been carried away to Canea.¶

CISAMUS.

Many remains and ruins of this important city may be seen at *Paliocastro di Chissamo.*** The harbour of the Garabuse

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* *Creta*, ii, 111, 112. † *Id.* p. 115.

‡ Called, in the original, *Cydonia.* § St. George.

‖ Tournefort describes a fine frieze, and states that the remains, though few, shew the city to have been an important one. In what appeared to be an ancient temple, Pococke describes a pedestal of grey marble, 3 feet square, with a festoon on each side and a figure of Pan. It is of good execution. (*Descript.* ii, 244.)

¶ Dictamnum was the principal seat of the worship of Dictynna.

** The walls remain entire. There are so many fine cisterns that the mind is struck with astonishment. The harbour is nearly choked up, but sufficient remains of the city exist to attest its former grandeur. (Belon, *Singularitez*, p. 7.) To the west of the port are the foundations of some considerable building. (Pococke, ii, 245.) Bondelmonte describes a copious spring of soft water in the centre of the city, and the remains of a palace, once ornamented with columns. A stone bridge exists over the river Tiflon, and several caverns may

served anciently for the commerce of the town.* Near this city was a temple of Apollo.†

POLYRRHENIA.

[Pococke describes this site under the name of Aptera, as existing at Paleocastro, and consisting of two platforms or terraces, with an acropolis above of great strength, with walls seven feet thick. A fine large semi-circular tower is very remarkable. Many edifices may be traced in the central portion of the city.]‡

CORYCUS.

The city of Corycus, called Chimarus by Strabo, was built on the side of the bold promontory of the same name, in a situation facing the north. Some remains may yet be traced. The site is marked by a church dedicated to St. George.§

PHALASARNA.

[The walls of this city, the modern *Kutri*, are very remarkable. At distances varying from 120 to 250 feet are square projecting towers, like bastions, the

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be seen in the vicinity. (Cornelius, *Creta Sacra*, i, 6.) Pashley observed several fragments of marble and granite columns, and an Ionic capital. The principal remains lie to the south (ii, 43).

* No authority is given for this assertion, and Chisamus itself being a port, the harbour of the Garabuse would not be needed.

† *Stadiasmus Magni Maris*, Cretæ Perip.

‡ *Descript. of the East*, ii, 246. (Compare Olivier, *Voyage*, ii, 289.) The ruins are three miles from *Chisamo-Kastelli*, and six from Phalasarna, which distances agree precisely with those given us by Strabo. The walls would appear, from a view of them given by Pashley, (ii, 46,) to be of the last period of cyclopean masonry, with horizontal beds, but inclined upright joints. There are the remains of what appears to be a temple, between the acropolis and the western extremity of the city. A water channel and sepulchres are also observable. Diana Dictynna was worshipped here.

§ Bondelmonte's description is as follows:—"We ascended by a difficult path to the summit of the hill, which seemed to reach to the stars, and found a small platform, on which the city was built, with its walls remaining of considerable height. We could clearly make out the plan of houses, with subterranean chambers artfully contrived; and we especially admired the cisterns, cut in the rock with such wonderful skill and patience. At the foot of the mountain are other cisterns, and not far off is an ancient fort, now destroyed." (Cornelius, *Creta Sacra*, i, 6.)

walls of which, together with the intermediate curtain, are inclined like those in modern fortifications.* Beyond this is an outer wall, similarly disposed, at a distance of 16 feet. Where the wall is less steep, nine or ten walls were observed parallel to each other, and which were considered to have been built for the greater protection of this side; but it would seem probable, both from the number of the walls, and from their being built in the polygonal manner but of small stones, that they are mere retaining walls to the successive terraces. On the acropolis, which has two summits, appeared, amid a confusion of ruins, the remains of what might have been a temple.† The city had a closed port, and a temple of Diana Dictynna.‡

KALAMYDE.

The polygonal walls of what he supposes to be this place, are described by Mr. Pashley as existing near *Selino-Kasteli*.§

Ulithias.

Two miles from Ulithias, on the road to Spaniako, is a beautiful specimen of the second cyclopean style. A small conical hill is surmounted by a sepulchral-looking building, 14 feet internal diameter, and with walls 4 feet thick. The masonry is beautifully executed, laid together with sharp angles, without interstices, and is very remarkable from its circular plan.‖]

There are also many other remains in different parts of the island,¶ on the coast, and in the interior of the various cities which it once contained; to give particular notice of the beautiful sites, ruins, and antiquities of which would occupy too much time and labour, especially as the ancient names of several of them are now lost.

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* Mr. Pashley refers to the walls of Priapus on the Hellespont, the bastions of which still more nearly assimilate to those of modern fortresses. They project out at right angles with the main wall, terminating with two other sides in an angular form.

† Pashley, Crete, ii, 69-73. ‡ Dicæarchus, *Vita Græc.*

§ Pashley, *Crete*, ii, 123; where also is a view of the walls. ‖ *Id.* p. 121.

¶ MS. No. 11 describes some remains in the island of Cerigo, the ancient Cythera. On a mountain, where was anciently the temple of Neptune, a beautiful mosaic has been found, representing Castor and Pollux armed, clothed in white, and with stars over their heads. Many remains of the city, with its famous temple, may be seen at the foot of the hill.

Very considerable remains are said to be visible in the island of Carpatho, between Candia and Rhodes. (Pashley, *Crete*, i, 188.)

Here follows a list of the "100 cities" from Ptolemy, Strabo, Stephanus, Pliny, and other authorities; several of which have been incorporated in the preceding article.

The accompanying map of Crete has been constructed on the outline of the French map of Messrs. Dumas, Gauttier, and Lapie, 1825; corrected, at the eastern and western extremities, from the hydrographic charts of the Admiralty, executed from recent surveys by Captains Graves and Spratt, and which have been liberally offered to my inspection by the kindness of Captain Beechey.

A few observations are requisite relative to the positions here assigned to some of the ancient cities. Much difference of opinion has been entertained relative to the identification of that most celebrated foreland the Sammonian promontory, the position of which would seem to be incontrovertibly ascertained by the existence of the modern name, *Capo Salomon*. Notwithstanding that several writers suppose the ancient name to have been attached to C. S. Sidero, others are not wanting, even of high authority, who attribute it to Capo Salomon. But though the name is certainly in favour of the latter site, and its position would accord with Sammonium as being the most eastern promontory of the island, there are some circumstances which would seem to determine its location at C. S. Sidero. It is true that, by the recent survey, it is not quite so far to the east as C. Salomon (the difference, however, is very trifling, only a few seconds of longitude), but, by its extreme extension from the mainland, it would be considered by everyone as the principal promontory at this end of the island; and would therefore be generally considered and known as "the eastern promontory". Nor should we attach undue importance to such a designation. The islet Musagora, at the western extremity of the island, is said, in the *Anonymous Periplus*, to face the east, because it projects sufficiently beyond the north coast to allow of a view being directed towards the east.

But there are other reasons for assigning it to this position. Though Strabo describes it vaguely as regarding Rhodes and Egypt, Pliny says, expressly, that it faced the island of Rhodes, and from the many islands round about Crete, there would have been no necessity to have named Rhodes, unless the promontory did actually face that island. If C. Salomon had been intended, the celebrated naturalist would have described it as facing the island of Cyprus, not that of Rhodes. Sammonium is stated, in the *Anonymous Periplus*, as being furnished with a port, and we find a port actually exhibited in the recent Admiralty survey as existing towards the extremity of the headland on its eastern side, in a position which agrees very well with the 120 stadia given us as the distance from the Dionysian islands; while C. Salomon much exceeds that quantity. The description in the *Stadiasmus*, however, seems to be conclusive. It is there referred to as stretching out considerably towards the north—ἀκρωτήριόν

ἐστι τῆς Κρήτης ἀνέχον πρὸς βορέαν ἀνεμον. The islets or rocks round this promontory form another unanswerable argument in favour of the position. Pliny gives us the names of seven such islands, a number which it is impossible to find near any other cape. The names of these, as indeed of all the islands surrounding Crete, are so variously given by modern geographers that it would be only confusing the map to insert them all.

If we may place any reliance upon the Italian chart, the modern name of *Itagnia* would show the position of the ancient Itanus, and its proximity to C. Salomon would induce us to suppose that that promontory was thus called, especially as we find the Grandes islands in this vicinity corresponding with the Onisia and Leuce of Pliny. Next to this are the promontories Ampelus and Erythræa, one of which was also called Dictæum. (Etym. Magn.)

It unfortunately happens that the first two dimensions given us in the *Stadiasmus* are incorrect. That from Sammonium to Cauus is stated at 500 stadia, a distance which nearly doubles that of either Salomon or Sidero to that island, but we are happily relieved from this difficulty by finding the distance recorded by Strabo as 250. The next dimension, of 80 stadia from Sammonium to Hierapytna, is so manifestly absurd, that I have ventured to suppose it to be an error for 800, the distance to that city by sea; a conjecture which is in some measure supported by finding no intermediate places mentioned in the *Stadiasmus*, either on the south, or for 420 stadia on the northern coast.

The next difficulty occurs in the position of Gortyna. Till the survey of this portion of the island is completed, it will be impossible to determine this most important position, affecting as it does the site of several other places. As marked down in our present maps, we have the distance from Biennus to Lebena more than three times that from Lebena to Matalia, although the former distance is stated at 70 and the latter at 320 stadia. I have attempted, in the margin of the map, at Fig. A, to show how these numbers may be explained, by shifting the position of Gortyna a little to the eastward. We thus have Lebena at its proportionate distance, both from Biennus and Matalia, and the arrangement further agrees with the order of Ptolemy, who mentions Lebena as eastward of the Leo promontory. In the neighbourhood of Gortyna was the river Potherius, which divided the territories of the Gortynians and Gnossians. (Vitr. i, 4.) This important river is not shown in a recent map of Crete, though it clearly appears in all the earlier maps.

On arriving at Psychion, a further difficulty has occurred, in the impossibility of conceiving how the distance from that city to Apollonia (30 stadia), and from thence to Phœnix (100), can be made to agree with the actual distance between these two extreme places. But by a reference to the table it will be seen that a further distance of 150 stadia is stated as being that between Psychion and Lamona, and on measuring off 150 stadia westward from Psychion, we find a

small bay, or cove, answering to this position; 30 stadia from which place (not from Psychion) I have imagined Apollonia to have been situated, and thus the recorded distances tally pretty nearly with the actual: and as it seems unaccountable how the geographer can have returned to give the distance from Hierapytna to Psychion, which distance (350 stadia) is only about one-half of the reality, I have ventured to suppose that this distance of 350 stadia is the measure of distance from Psychion to Phœnix.

From here the distances work in very well to Syia, another known site: after which I have placed Lyssus nearer to Criumetopon (Cf. Scylax) than the site generally received. The anonymous geographer describes the distance from Criumetopon to Biennus as being 12 stadia *by sea;* and it is therefore probable that the distance of 260 stadia from that city to Phalasarna was also reckoned by sea. At the north-western extremity of the island we come to Tretus Promontory, the identification of which appears fixed by the description —*ἀκρωτήριόν ἐστι τετρημένον.*

By the modern survey we find a small promontory in the bay of Martylus extending out just 25 stadia from Cisamus in a northerly direction, thus agreeing precisely with the description of Tyrus. We meet with another gap between Amphimale and Heracleum, which has caused considerable difficulty to the commentators; to extricate themselves from which they have endeavoured to identify Amphimatrium and Pantomatrium, Hydramon and Rhithymna, Rhithymna and Eleuthernæ, Astale and Amphimale; while Pashley thought to have found Hydramon at the modern *Dhrami.* It would seem, however, that the words Amphimale, Amphimatrium, and Pantomatrium, refer to the peculiar forms of the coast at these places, and it is singular that the distances recorded tally precisely with the localities thus apparently indicated. From Minoa we have 150 stadia to the double cape of Amphimatrium, across the double bay of Amphimale, and from Amphimatrium, measuring off 100 stadia to Hydramon, we find ourselves close upon the rugged cape of Pantomatrium. From Hydramon 30 stadia more bring us to Astale, a position fixed by the modern name *Atali,* and from each of these two points, Hydramon and Astale, we shall find just 50 stadia distance to Eleuthernæ, thus explaining satisfactorily this troublesome passage of the *Stadiasmus.* It remains only to say that *Dhrami* is the site of the ancient Dragmus.

We meet with no further impediment till we reach Chersonesus, between which place and Cetium the various cities have been differently placed, immediately to the south or west of C. S. Zuan. The distances, however, of the *Stadiasmus,* agree precisely, not only with the position assigned to Cetium and the intermediate places from Chersonesus, but with the distance of the Cetium Promontory from the Dionysiades.

The only other inland city there is occasion to refer to, is Arcadia, which, notwithstanding a recent opinion to the contrary, was, without doubt, at the

modern village, *Arkhadi*, the position of which, on the maps, agrees exactly with the distances of the Peutigerian table (16 miles from Lyctus, and 30 from Biennus), and is further proved by its being situated *between* the districts of Gnossus and Lyctus, as mentioned to us by Hierocles.

The accompanying Table of the Itineraries will enable the reader, at a glance, to discover the authorities for the position of the several names in the map. For this purpose the names are not given in the order of the original, but are divided in two sections, the north and south coasts, and are placed in their order from east to west, the arrangement of the originals being preserved by the numerals prefixed to each name. Thus it will be seen that the Stadiasmus of the Mediterranean, starting from Sammonium, makes a periplus of the island, commencing on the south coast. Ptolemy begins at Corycus, and travels in the contrary direction, also making a complete tour of the coast; after which he starts again from the western extremity of the island, visiting several inland cities, as far as Lyctus. Pliny begins at nearly the same place as Ptolemy, but travels in the contrary direction till he gets to Hierapolis, after which he mentions several inland towns, at random. Scylax commences at the west coast, and proceeds towards the east, grouping inland and coast towns together.* Hierocles sets out from Gortyna, eastward by Hierapytna, nearly completing the tour of the coast: while the Peutingerian table, commencing at Tharrus, pursues the opposite route with occasional deviations.

EDWARD FALKENER.

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* According to this arrangement, many places which Scylax is supposed to describe as being on the south coast, are to be understood, in reality, as being merely south of the places immediately preceding.

NORTH COAST.

STADIASMUS MAGNI MARIS.	PEUTINGERIA TABULA.
Casius *Ins.* to Sammonium, 500 *st.*	
1. Sammonium. *Prom. et Port. Longissime ad Septentrionem versus porrectum.* T. Minervæ.	
48. Dionysiades, *ducæ Ins. et Port.*, ad 1—120 *st.*; ad 47—300 *st.*	
47. Ceteum. *Prom. et Port.* ad 46—15 *st.*	
46. Hetera ad 45—25 *st.*	
45. Camara ad 44—15 *st.*	*n.* Litium *to c*—16 *m.*
44. Olus. *Prom.* ad 43—60 *st.*; a continente 20 *st.*	*m.* Cresonesso to *n*—16 *m.*
43. Chersonesus (*Prom.*?) *Civ. et Ins.* ad 40—30 *st.*	*l.* Cnoso to *m*—16 *m.*
40. Heracleum. *Civ. et Port.* ad 39—100 *st.* / 42. Dia. *Ins.* ad 40—40 *st.* / 41. Gnossus ad 40—20 *st.*	*o.* Arcade to *p*—30 *m.*
39. Astale. *Port.* ad 38—50 *st.*; ad 36—30 *st.*	*h.* Eleuterna to *i*—8 *m.*
38. Eleuthera ad 36 (37 ?)—50 *milia* (*st.* ?)	
37. Hydramon. ad 36—100 *st.*	*g.* Lappa *to h*—32 *m.*
36. Amphimatrium. *Civ. et flumen*, ad 35—150 *st.*	*f.* Cisamo *to g*—9 *m.*
35. Minoa, *contra quem tres Ins.* Leucæ.	
34. Aptera ad 33, a mare, 150 *st.*; a terra, 120 *st.*	
33. Cydonia. *Civ. et Port.* ad 32—60 *st.*	*e.* Cydonia *to f*—8 *m.*
32. Coete. *Ins.* ad 31—170 *st.*	
31. Dyctynnæum ad 30—80 *st.*	
30. Tyrus. *Prom. ad Sept.* ad 29—25 *st.*	
29. Cisamus. *Civ. et Port.* ad 28—80 *st.*	*d.* Cisamo *to e*—32 *m.*
28. Agneus. *Port.* ad 26—50 *st.* T. Apollonis.	
27. Martilus *Sinus.*	
26. Tretus. *Prom. perforatum.* ad 25—50 *st.*	
22. Phalasarna. *Emporium.* ad 21—260 *st.* / 25. Myla, *Ins.* / 24. Mesia (Media), *Ins. et Port.* ad 22—3 *st.* / 23. Musagores, *Ins. et Port.* ad 22—60 *st.* T. Apollonis.	
21. Biennus. *Civ. et Port.* ad 20—12 *st.*	
20. Criumetopon. *Prom.*	

SOUTH COAST.

1. Sammonium. *Prom. et Port.* ad 2—80 *st.*	
2. Hierapytna ad 4—180 *st.* / *contra quem* 3. Chrysa, *Ins. et Port.*	*q.* Hiera to *r*—32 *m.*
4. Biennus ad 5—70 *st.*	*p.* Blenna *to q*—20 *m.*
5. Lebena ad 7—20 *st.* *contra quem* 6. Oxia, *Ins.*	*r.* Inata *to k*—24 *m.*
7. Halas ad 8—300 *st.*	*s.* Lisia *to k*—16 *m.*
8. Matalus. *Civ. et Port.* ad 9—65 *st.*	*k.* Cortina *to l*—23 *m.*
9. Sulia. *Prom. et Port.* ad 10—12 *st.*	*t.* Ladena *to k*—12 *m.*
10. Psychium. *Port.* ad 11—150 *st.*; ad 12—30 *st.*	
11. Lamona. *Civ. et Port.* 2 ad 10—350 *st.*	*i.* Subrita *to k*—32 *m.*
12. Apollonia ad 13—100 *st.*	
13. Phœnix. *Civ. et ins.* ad 15—60 *st.*	
ad 14. Claudia, *Ins.* 300 *st.*	
15. Tarrha ad 16—60 *st.*	*a.* Tharrhus to *b*—30 *m.*
16. Poecilassus ad 17—50 *st.*	
17. Syia. *Civ. et Port.*	
18. Lyssus ad 19—250 *st.*	*b.* Liso *to c*—16 *m.*
19. Calamydes ad 20—30 *st.*	*c.* Cantano *to d*—24 *m.*
20. Criumetopon. *Prom. altum.*	

NORTH COAST.

PTOLEMY.		SCYLAX.	
27. Sammonium *Prom.*			
28. Minoa *Portus.*			
29. Camara.			
30. Olus.			
31. Chersonesus.	56. Lyctus.		20. Lyctus.
32. Zephyrium *Prom.*	Dia *Ins.*		
33. Heracleum.	55. Gnossus.		17. Gnossus.
34. Panormus.	54. Panona.		
35. Cytæum.			16. Oaxus.
36. Dium *Prom.*			
37. Pantomatrium.	52. Eleuthernæ.		13. Eleuthernæ.
38. Rithymna.	51. Sybrita.		12. Osmida.
39. Amphimales *Sinus.*	50. Lappa.		11. Lampæa.
40. Drepanum *Prom.*			
41. Minoa.	48. Aptera.	10. Apterææ Regio.	
42. Pycnus *flumen.*		6. Cydonia.	
43. Cydonis.		4. Pergamea.	
44. Dictamnum.		3. Dictynnæum.	
45. Psacum *Prom.*		T. Dianæ Dictynnæ.	
46. Cisamus.			
1. Corycus.	47. Polyrrhenia.		2. Polyrrhenia.
2. Phalasarna.		1. Phalasarna.	
3. Chersonesus.			
4. Rhamnus *Portus.*			
5. Inachorium.			
6. Criumetopon *Prom.*			

SOUTH COAST.

27. Sammonium *Prom.*			
26. Itanus.		22. Itanus.	
25. Ampelus.			21. Præsus.
24. Erythræum *Prom.*			
23. Hierapytna.			
22. Hieron-Oros.			19. Caunus.
21. Inatus.	53. Gortyna.		18. Gortyna.
20. Lethæus *fl.*			
19. Catarrhactus *fl.*			
18. Lebena.			15. Phæstus.
17. Leo *Prom.*			
16. Matala.			14. Subrita
15. Helectra *fl.*	Letoa *Ins.*		*cum portu.*
14. Psychium.			
13. Massalia *fl.*			
12. Phœnix *Civ.*	Claudus *Ins.*		
11. Phœnix *Port.*			
10. Hermæa *Prom.*			
9. Pœcillassus.			
8. Tarrha.	49. Hyrtacina.		5. Hyrtacina.
7. Lissus.		8. Lissa.	7. Elyrus.
6. Criumetopon *Prom.*		9. Criumetopon.	

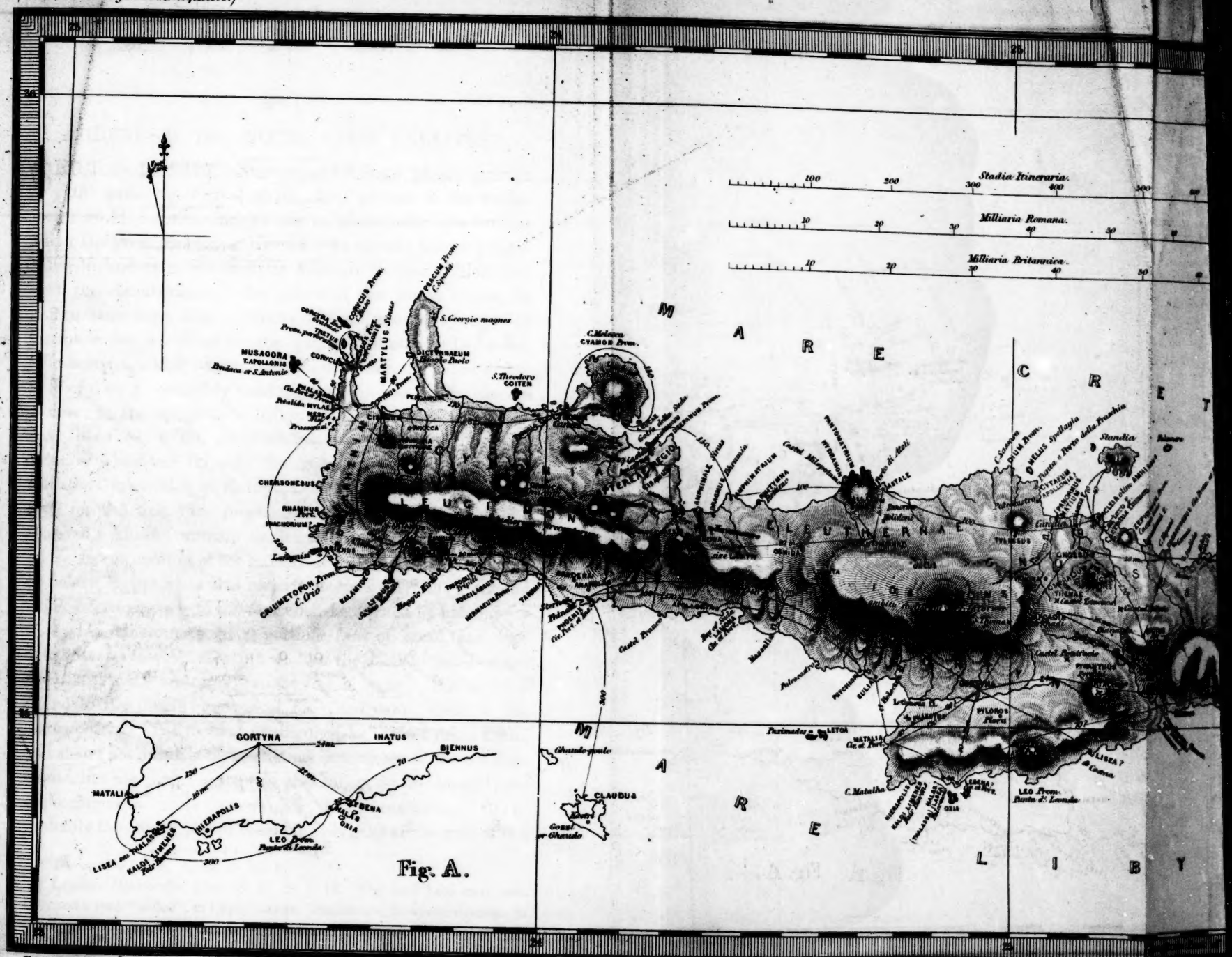
NORTH COAST.

HIEROCLES.		PLINY.	
		Sammonium *circum quem*	Phoce, Platiæ, Sirnides, Naulochos, Armendon, *et* Zephyre *Ins.*
			30. Asum.
5. Camara.		16. Miletus.	26. Lycastus.
6. Allyngus.			
7. Chersonesus.	8. Lyctus.		28. Lyctus.
	9. Arcadia.		Dia *Ins.*
	10. Gnossus.	15. Heraclea.	23. Gnossus.
		14. Matium.	
	12. Oaxus.	13. Apollonia.	29. Dium.
	13. Eleutherna.	12. Cytæum.	37. Eleutherna.
		11. Panhormum.	
	14. Lampe.		
		10. Rhithymna.	
		9. Amphimalla.	
		8. Pantomatrium.	
15. Aptera.		7. Apteron.	
		6. Minoum.	
16. Cydonia.		5. Cydon.	Leuce *et duæ* Budræ
		4. Pergamum.	*Ins.*
17. Cisamus.		3. Cisamum.	
			Duæ Corycæ *Ins.*
		2. Etea.	*Duæ* Nylæ *Ins.*
			Tres Musagores *Ins.* (*circumvectisque* Cirumetopon.)
		1. Phalasarna.	24. Polyrrhenium.
			27. Rhamuus.

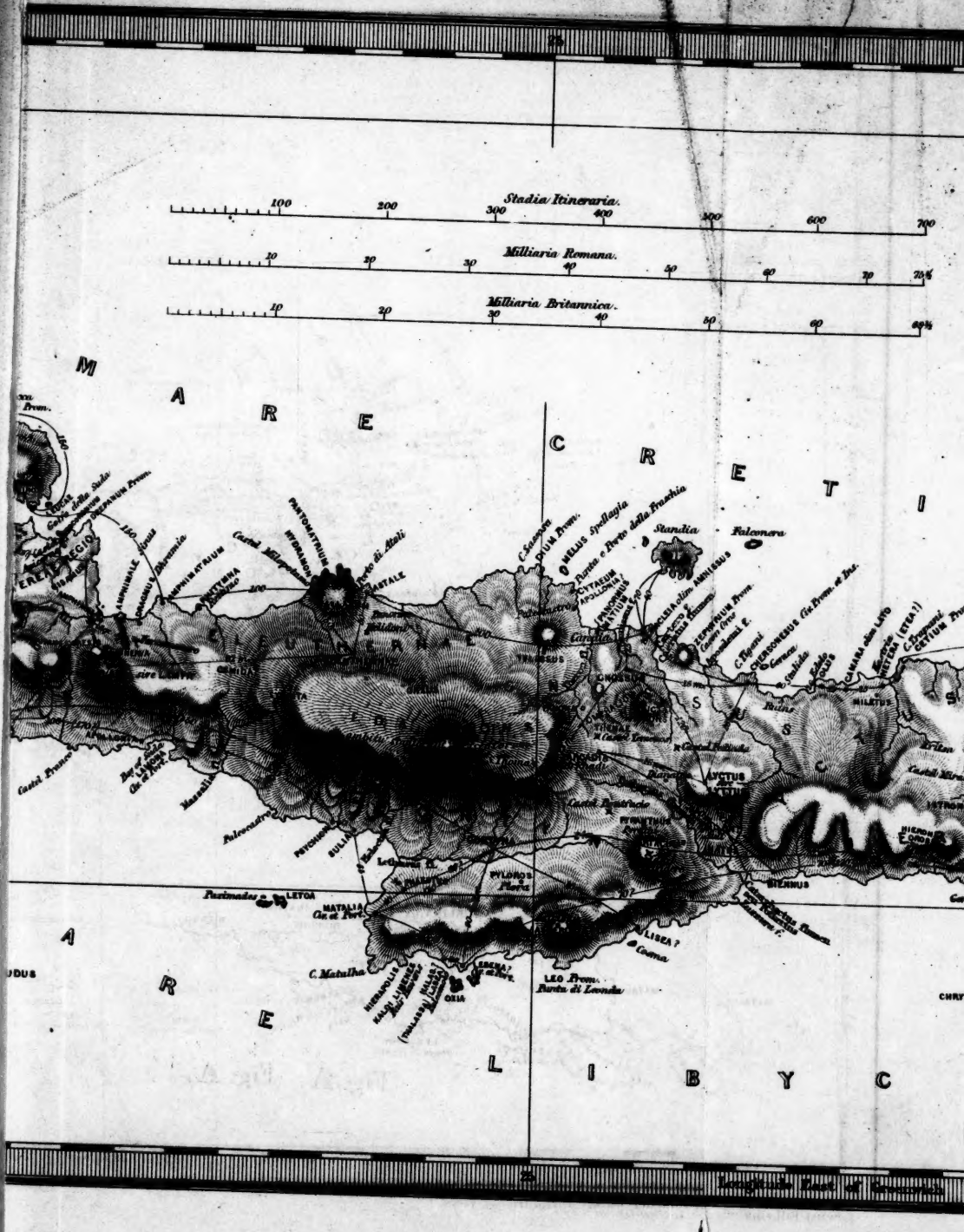
SOUTH COAST.

		Itanum *contra quem*	Onisia *et Leuce Ins.*
		17. Ampelus.	Ophiussa, Butoa *et* Aradus. *Ins.*
4. Hierapydna.		18. Hieraytna *contra quem*	Chrysa *et* Gaudos *Ins.*
3. Bienna.			
2. Inatus.			32. Rhytion.
	1. Gortyna.		21. Gortyna.
		19. Lebena.	31. Poloros.
		20. Hierapolis.	
			22. Phæstum.
	11. Subritus.		
		25. Myrina	*Dubio.*
		33. Elatas	
		34. Pharæ	
21. Phœnix *sive* Aradena.		35. Holopyxos	
		36. Lasos	
		38. Therapnæ	
		39. Marathusa	
20. Lissus.	19. Elyrus.	40. Cylissus	
	18. Cantania.		

(Museum of Classical Antiquities.)



Edward Falkener, "On the Antiquities of Crete."


Stadia Itineraria.
100
200
300
400
500
600
700
Milliaria Romana.
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
Milliaria Britannica.
10
20
30
40
50
60
M A R E C R E T I
A R E L I B Y C
Stadia
Falconara
Standia
Candia
Matalla
Lisia
Leta
Pitylos
Biennus
Hierapolis
Olus
Lyctus
Miletus
Cydonia
Phalasarna
Polyrrhenia
Kissamos
Cisamos
Gortyna
Phaestus
Rhithymna
Panormus
Heraclea
Lebena
Hagia Pelagia
Cape Matala
Cape Salmone
Cape Krio
Cape Spada
Cape Buon Porto
Cape Sidero
Cape Plaka
Cape Lithinon
Cape Grabusa
Cape Tersonesus
Cape Drepanum
Cape Melissa
Cape Meleka
Cape Pachyammos
Cape Psychro
Cape Lithinon
Cape Salmone
Cape Krio
Cape Spada
Cape Buon Porto
Cape Sidero
Cape Plaka
Cape Lithinon
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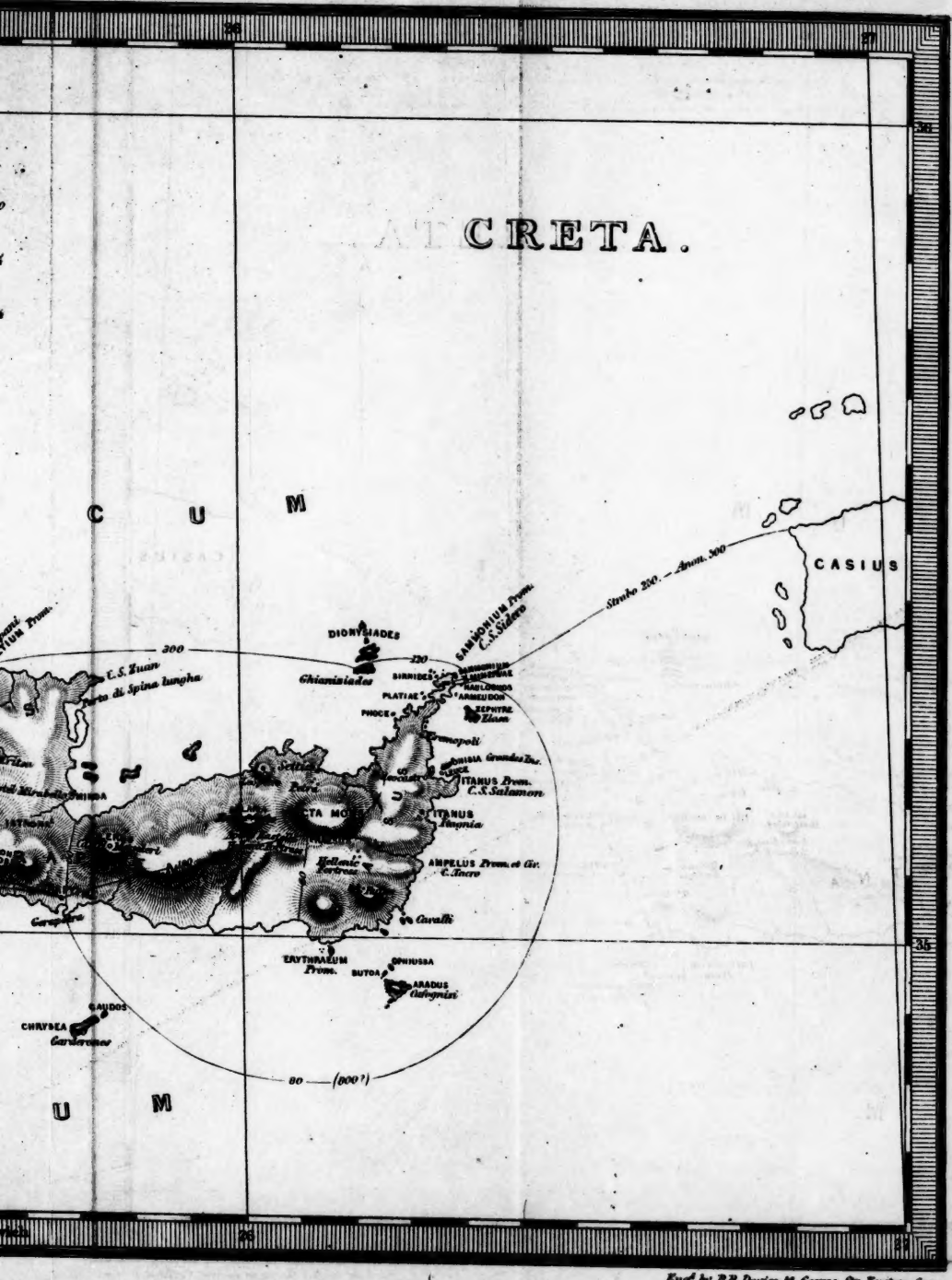
Cape Tersonesus
Cape Drepanum
Cape Melissa
Cape Meleka
Cape Pachyammos
Cape Psychro
Cape Lithinon



Engd by B.R.Davies, 19 George Str. Euston Squ.

XVI.

ADDENDUM TO "NOTES UPON OBELISKS."

SINCE the preceding "Notes upon Obelisks" passed through the press, the arrival of the third portion of the monuments of M. Lepsius, enables me to make some observations about the great obelisks of Karnak. It appears from a proscynema incised upon the rocks at Assouan, or Syene,* that Senmut, the chamberlain of the palace of the young queen, Ra neferu, came down there to quarry obelisks, upon which occasion he made his adoration to the queen, Hatasu, or Ta-ha-asu, who is styled a king's sister, a king's daughter, the eldest divine wife of a king; probably meaning that she was, at that time, a widow; as she is said to be living. These must, consequently, have been either the great obelisks of Karnak, or some of those of Thothmes III. In the continuation of the so-called statistical inscription at Karnak, occurs a new and remarkable fact, for the first time mentioned. It appears that obelisks received a kind of worship similar to that offered to idols and gods. In the account of the gifts made by the king to the temple or palace, it states:—"[his majesty augmented]† the food and drink-offerings made to the four obelisks erected by his majesty ....to his father, Amon, 100 portions (*un*) of bread, and four draughts (*ts*) of water, of which each of the obelisks had twenty-five loaves (*ak*), and one draught (*ts*) of water. His majesty added to the divine offerings of food and drink made to the statues of...." The worship of the obelisks is most remarkable, and shows not only the high religious importance of these monuments, but also helps to explain this object in the hieroglyphs appearing as the name of Amon-Ra. The statues referred to are probably the colossi placed beside the obelisks at the gate of the

* *Denkmaeler*, Abth. iii, Bl. 25, bis. 9.

† Lepsius, *Denkmaeler*, Abth. iii, Bl. 39, b. 16. The word here used, *uah*, is by some read "added", in Coptic, *ouahe*. Sometimes, however, it seems to mean "sacred", and has a man pouring water, as a determinative.

temple, which probably received offerings at the same time. Two obelisks of Thothmes III are also represented in a tomb at Gournah,* which was made for Puam, an inspector of the constructions made by the king to Amon-Ra, in Thebes. He is represented seated, with the chief masons and builders addressing him, while behind them are two obelisks, each inscribed with a line of hieroglyphs,—the dedication of the monarch. A copy of the obelisk at Constantinople is also given in the same work.†

There are some expressions which it may be necessary to correct: one is the word "object", (p. 206,) used in speaking of the obelisk of the Fayoum; and by the base inscription, I refer to the lower vertical lines on the monument. There are also some difficulties about the expression I have translated "vowed"; literally, it reads, *ta api rat*, "given on the feet", and appears often in connexion with works. The continuation of the annals of Karnak, shows that the joint reign of Thothmes III and his sister terminated sooner than the twenty-ninth year, as hitherto supposed, (p. 208.) The word after his majesty, on the Lateran obelisk, (p. 216,) may be *mut*, "died",—when the king died; and the uncertain word, "remained", may be *kam*, to "devise". The land of *Rutech*, mentioned in p. 217, may be an error of Ungarelli's copy, for *Ruten*, so often occurring in the inscriptions. The discussion upon the two royal names upon the Luxor obelisk and the supposed two kings, Rameses, will be found in Salvolini's treatise‡ on this obelisk, which I refer to to in p. 220. There are also some difficulties about the expression, "place of the great soul", probably the same as that copied *ta*, or *ka*, in p. 225. The badness of the script of Sallier papyrus renders it uncertain whether the expression, "leading obelisks from *Abu*", may not be, *m' abuch*, "leaping",—a poetic phrase, (p. 232.) The expression, "true brother", probably means that it was his own brother. The death I refer to in p. 234, is, of course, that of Antinous.

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* Lepsius, *Denk.*, Abth. iii, Bl. 39, c. † *Ib.*, Abth. iii, Bl. 60.

‡ Traduction des inscriptions de l'obelisque de Paris. 4to. Paris, 1837.